

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THEATERS OF ANATOMY: DISEASED BODIES AND HISTORY WRITING IN THE HISPANIC TRANSATLANTIC WORLD

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In this dissertation, entitled “Theaters of Anatomy: Diseased Bodies and History Writing in the Hispanic Transatlantic World,” I establish a connection between medical and narrative disciplines using the famous medical treatise by Dr. Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de los ingenios para las ciencias*, and three poetic/history writing treatises, including Alonso López Pinciano’s *Philosophia Antigua Poética*, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba’s *De Historia, para entenderla y escribirla*, and Gerónimo de San José’s *Genio de la historia*. I explore how the permeable boundaries between medical and narrative practices are woven together to create political meaning in a corpus of texts from the sixteenth century. By establishing the intricate relationship between medicine, political goals, and narrative; my work creates a historical trajectory between genres and show the way that each appropriates and differentiates itself from one another. It also demonstrates the parallel and

dependent relationship on the developing studies of medicine and historiography. I use this interdisciplinary link to compare the figure of a history writer to that of a practitioner and follow the figure of the history-writer practitioner as he transforms through three texts: from a knight in Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, to a traveler in Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, and then as a friar in Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. In each text, I investigate how physical disease is linked to sin, and thus non-Christians are portrayed as diseased. Throughout the dissertation, I explore how writers of history negotiate ways in which to heal the sinful and integrate them into a healthy Christian civic body.

THEATERS OF ANATOMY: DISEASED BODIES AND HISTORY WRITING IN
THE HISPANIC TRANSATLANTIC WORLD

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Preface

In this dissertation, I analyze how medical discourse and narrative practices were interwoven to create political meaning in texts from the sixteenth century. I also analyze the relationship between the representation of non-Christians as diseased and the transformation of medical discourse as knowledge of the geographical confines of the globe changed with exploration and expansion. I thereby link the development of scientific discourse and narrative practices to the debates of the rights of non-Christians in the new World. This investigation provides a fresh perspective and a solid link between Medieval, Golden Age, and Colonial literatures, in which we are better able to understand the creation of political legitimacy through narrative and the debates of the rights of non-Christians in the New World by opening our discussion to the effects of the development of scientific practices on narrative representation, which in the past has been all but ignored.

In my investigation, I explore the notion of disease as having both a physical and spiritual dimension by examining how physical conditions and attributes could be used to diagnose the state of the soul. I discuss how one's use of language was precisely the mechanism by which the famous sixteenth-century physician Juan Huarte de San Juan proposed to diagnose one's intellect by linking the use of language to the state of his or her soul. This state was based upon their place of origin. People from more torrid zones were believed to have more sinful natures. For this reason, Huarte's medical theory was used by many authors in their efforts to legitimize Spanish rule over non-Christians.

This dissertation follows the figure of the history-writer and medical practitioner as he transforms from a knight in Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, to a shipwrecked explorer in Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, and then into a friar in Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. The history-writer practitioner wages battle using the Word of God to conquer and to cure non-Christians.

In the first chapter, I argue that medical theory and poetics are used in order to equate the notion of disease with one's faith. I examine how medical practices of the sixteenth century rely heavily on poetics. In turn, poetics are pervaded by images of the body. I will do so by creating a bridge between the best-selling Spanish medical treatise of the time, *Examen de los ingenios*, written by Dr. Juan Huarte de San Juan, and several historical/literary treatises of the epoch, including court physician Alonso López Pinciano's *Philosophia Antigua Poética*, statesman and historian Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's *De historia, para entenderla y escribirla*, and Discalced Carmelite and historian Gerónimo de San José's *Genio de la historia*. In this way, I explore how language and narrative can be compared to theaters of anatomy. They are similar to these theaters because within them the diseased are diagnosed and dissected in order to create an autopsy of what has caused their death.

In the following three chapters, I examine the figure of a history-writer practitioner. In the first text, the history-writer practitioner is embodied by a Christian knight, Esplandián, who wages war upon non-Christians from the Far East and an island near the newly discovered Indies. Rodríguez de Montalvo constructs enemies of the Christian faith based on commonly believed medical theory of the

sixteenth century. Hence, non-Christians in the text are made in the forms of giants with violent natures. In this way, Montalvo links such negative or diseased attributes to the climates of the places of origin of these non-Christians. Because the temperaments of the giants are consistent with medical discourse, the text becomes a predictive tool of how to interact with actual non-Christian peoples from distant lands in future expeditions. Examples of how to make war legitimately upon the sinful giants are played out by Esplandián and his Christian allies and Montalvo reaffirms physical and spiritual conquest of these beings with the triumph of Christianity. In the end, salvation is guaranteed only to those that sincerely convert and pledge their loyalty and arms to the service of crown and God.

In the second text, Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, the author recounts how he, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico survive the shipwrecking of Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition. They travel among different groups of Indians for nine years. I examine how the author continues to utilize some traditional medical paradigms; for example, the four Spaniards are portrayed as having prudent characters being from the temperate corridor and the Indians of the torrid coast as being cruel. However, Cabeza de Vaca does break away from Montalvo's caricature representations of non-Christians based upon medical theory. The author does not limit his descriptions to categorizations of groups based upon ontological notions of people from similar latitudes. Cabeza de Vaca represents himself as a participant in the narrative and his level of interaction with the Indians influences how the non-Christians are represented. While Cabeza de Vaca details the differing customs and attributes of many indigenous nations the four men encounter on many distinct terrains, he does

not promote the use of force in order to gain the loyalty of the Indians or to convert them. Like Montalvo, the author does rely upon a chivalric trope. However, Cabeza de Vaca reinforces the triumph of Christianity through his suffering and survival, which was a battle, won only through his steadfast faith.

Cabeza de Vaca, moreover, does not directly take up the question of the imposition of Castilian laws upon the Indians. At the end of the text, the four travelers encourage the Indians walking with them to return to their lands, live as Christians, and then they would not be harmed by the Spanish. Thus, it is implied that the only way the Indians will be integrated into the Spanish social body is by accepting Christianity and following their king. At the same time, Cabeza de Vaca portrays the Spaniards they encounter as behaving contrary to what should have been their nature and their Christian beliefs. Like Amadís in Montalvo's text, Cabeza de Vaca connects the death of Narváez with his search for personal gain. Thereby, the author provides advice to future conquistadors on how to carry out any peaceful settlement. In turn, by following this advice, future travelers could create a unified social body, in which spiritual and physical healing of all would occur only through true faith.

The third text I study, Sahagún's *Historia*, presents the history-writer practitioner as removed from the pages of his narrative. Instead, he is outside the text, taking notes of a presently diseased society, where the Indians and the Spanish coexist. Like Cabeza de Vaca, Sahagún promotes peaceful means to attract Indians to Christianity. However, Sahagún does not use a chivalric trope to do so. His narrative consists of gathering information from elders of the indigenous community present at

the time of Tenotichlán's fall in order to carry out sincere and lasting conversions. The Franciscan gains access to such knowledge by asking the Indians themselves to describe their customs and to do so in their own words. Only later is this information translated to Castilian.

Like Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca, Sahagún does refer to medical theory with respect to the ability of climate to affect the body and soul adversely. In this way, as the Spanish arrived, they acted sinfully because of imbalance. The Indians were infected then because they had to conform to new customs and foods. In order to combat such social disease, the friar does not advocate for a more rigid imposition of Spanish law; he rather recommends that Christians use the knowledge he has gathered to learn to live prudently and to root out the persistence of idolatry among the Indians.

I show how medical and poetic discourses are intricately intertwined by following the path of the history-writer practitioner through Montalvo, Cabeza de Vaca, and Sahagún's texts. I take my analysis beyond how political meaning is created in narrative with this interdisciplinary connection to those works that do not openly claim to be propaganda for the crown. In this way, my analysis reaffirms that there is no pure genre in the sixteenth century that escapes this interdisciplinary connection. I have used the figure of the history-writer practitioner to demonstrate the way that each appropriates and differentiates itself from one another thereby making the connection between medicine, political goals, and narrative.

Dedication

To my loving parents and grandparents, thank you. I have some big shoes to fill.

To my darling friends, thank you. Your smiles and our tears are treasures locked away in my memory.

To my philanthropic professors, thank you. You each have been my guide.

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Chapter 1: Medical Discourse and Poetics in the Sixteenth Century

This chapter opens with an analysis of how narrative can be understood as a theater of anatomy, or a staging of what is ‘human’. I define ‘human’ in terms of the sixteenth-century notion of *humanitas*, or solidarity with one’s own kind. I will base my discussion of *humanitas* on the ability to speak well, as this was how famous court physician, Juan Huarte de San Juan, explained that man expressed his intelligence. In his medical treatise *Examen de los ingenios para las ciencias*, Huarte writes that all men have different aptitudes that are measurable. Huarte’s premise is that a man’s intellect can be diagnosed based upon his speech. In this way, people who spoke alike could be diagnosed with similar aptitudes. This also meant that they could share in solidarity with their own kind based on their capacities, actions, as well as their forms of speech. This connection between peoples was manifest in these ways as a result of environmental influences that corrupted the perfection of the body after Adam was expelled from Eden. Hence, those from more temperate locations were considered most apt to govern over others with more sinful natures.

Therefore, speaking well became a way to show solidarity, or one’s humanity whereas the inability to speak well was a manifestation of disease. I understand the notion of disease as having both a physical and spiritual dimension. Thus, I examine how physical conditions and attributes could be used to diagnose the state of the soul. I draw on the Judeo-Christian inheritance of an Edenic understanding of word as its corresponding physical manifestation. For this reason, non-Christian peoples of distant lands were depicted as diseased because they did not speak the Word of God. Such a notion of disease is shown in narratives from the sixteenth century. The

Castilian monarchy consistently used such representation to legitimize sovereignty in Iberia as well as in newly explored lands.

Medicine in early modern Spain

In the sixteenth century, the interdisciplinary nature of education was central to the solidification of Isabel and Ferdinand's political power. Within academic institutions, medicine, poetics, and theology were studied side by side. This facilitated representing people opposed to Castilian rule as diseased. In order to understand this notion of disease, we will consider several connections between narrative and medicine; firstly, the relationship between socio-political order and higher education; secondly, the instruction of medicine in the university; thirdly, the change in methods used for collecting scientific data; and fourthly, the transformation of the known world the rights of those who wished to rule within it.

The relationship of our investigation to the study of anatomy is of primary importance. Medical theory was taught and learned using standard rhetorical practices during the sixteenth century. Within medical theory, anatomy specifically refers to the parts that construct a body. Once theories were taught, forms of disease were conceptualized and could be diagnosed upon those who were considered to display particular symptoms on their bodies. Literature containing the history about sick bodies, the emergence of diseases, and their eradication became political propaganda and weaponry because any set of unwanted symptoms was *diseasable*.

Until recently, scholars like Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor claimed that the Iberian Peninsula did not participate in the Scientific Revolution. According to him, scholasticism limited Spanish university curricula to a frenzy of Aristotelian logic

that was impenetrable by the outside world. However, this notion is not shared by contemporary scholars of Spain's history of science and anatomy, such as José María López Piñero. López Piñero has demonstrated that technological advancements that took hold in the rest of Renaissance Europe, such as the use of anatomical theaters, were also instituted and commonly used in Spanish universities (López Piñero, *Vesalian Movement*, 81).¹

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of university education, medical investigation was accompanied by the teaching of philosophical and theological principles as well. In early modern Spain, the study of medicine offered the perspective of man as a physical embodiment of the order of the universe (Rodríguez de la Flor 203). The exterior condition of the body manifested man's inner workings and the condition of his soul in relation to the universe. By exploring man's exterior physique, or his anatomy, one could diagnose his physical condition as well as his spiritual one. Rodríguez de la Flor writes,

...la representación del cuerpo y del ser del hombre desarrolla desde lo que es una primitiva captación de la exterioridad radical, que acaba también por incluir lo que es la imagen o figura exterior de ese hombre, hasta, por fin, la misma puesta en escena de la 'sede' o sedes interiores del alma, captando entonces lo que pudiera ser la 'forma animis' (203).

...the representation of the body and the being of man develops from what is a primitive perception of radical appearance, which also ends with the inclusion of what is the image of exterior figure of that man, until, at last, the same theatrical representations of the interior see or sees of the soul, capturing thus what could have been 'forma animis'.²

¹ Until the reign of Phillip II, there were special restrictions on the dissection of the body. See José María López Piñero. *Historia de la medicina*. Madrid, Historia 16, 1990.

² All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

In this study, I limit my use of the study of medicine to the area of anatomy. I use this limit because as Rodríguez de la Flor explains, the body displayed the condition of the soul. By exploring how narrative is used to conceptualize bodies, one is able to see how the Castilian monarchy was able to monopolize upon such narrative practices as well as anatomical investigation in order to solidify its power. Those with unwanted attributes or behaviors were diseased, linking undesirable physical characteristics to objectionable socio-political and religious practices.

Socio-political and religious agendas of the monarchy orders were therefore revealed in how narrative practices were used to define what constituted a body. They became clearer when with Christian theology about how any “body” fit within a specific place in the natural hierarchy of the universe. In fact, the body itself was a theater of this agenda and the workings of the universe. According to Rodríguez de la Flor,

De este modo, la *Philosophia moralis* interacciona con la medicina, del mismo modo que la retórica sufre la contaminación de la moral. La ciencia parece conducir a la con-ciencia, y en estos balbuceos del método científico, lo cierto es que el lenguaje, incluso el icónico y vesaliano de la ciencia, aloja un significado moral, que actúa decisivamente en lo que va siendo camino de apertura hacia la visualización completa del interior humano ... (205).

In this way, the *Philosophia moralis* interacts with medicine, in the same way that rhetoric suffers [from] contamination of morality. Science seems to lead towards con-science, and in these stammering of scientific method, the truth is that language, including the iconic and the Vesalian of science, houses a moral significance, that acts decisively in that which continues to be a path of aperture towards the complete visualization of the human interior.

Hence the body can be understood as the exteriorization of its interior condition and thereby compared to a theater of anatomy.

In the mid-sixteenth century, transformations of the university education system included the performance of public dissections. Such anatomical presentations were held in university settings as well as at court. Many levels of society would attend them alongside students. Álvaro Martínez Vidal and José Pardo Tomás write of how these theaters of anatomy were used:

...not only as an architectural, physical site, but also as a stage-set prepared for a variety of audiences, authorized and regulated by those in power, and socially recognized (252).

The processes of observation and exposition of knowledge carried out in these anatomies revealed important linguistic and cultural practices that were constitutive of socio-political order. Hence, approaches to the instruction of anatomy were affected by shifting political needs. Thus, to be human, or find solidarity with one's own kind, was contingent on correct use of mechanisms to know and articulate being. Therefore, to speak well became a form of diagnosis for health and social acceptability.

Nevertheless, this form of diagnosis, would eventually destabilize the notion of a homogenous and unified, or *healthy* social body in the Spanish empire of the sixteenth century. This impossibility was in part due to how the process of being inscribed into narrative was used to impose confines for determining who was human. In doing so, where and how people fit into the socio-political order and its history were determined. In this way, the notion of human, or *humanitas*, contributed to the conceptualization of non-Christian's differences as unnatural, and enabled the design of 'scientific' epics of Christian triumph over them in history.

In early modern Spain, political, economic, and social factors were closely tied to institutionalized education. Some of the more important organizations that contributed to scientific exploration in Spain, included *La Casa de Contratación*, *El Consejo de Indias*, the Academy of Mathematics of Madrid, the Artillery School, the Escorial's boticary or laboratory, as well as some hospitals, all of which were institutional arms of the monarchy (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 96). Often their administrative and academic structures depended on the consultation of the specific bodies that provided financial support (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 96).³

In academic institutions, instructors and curricula were heavily influenced by local infrastructure, government, and society. During the medieval times, each university had a unique historical development within the various kingdoms of Spain. Organization was decentralized, student populations diverse, course offerings, requirements, and degrees varied, and patronage came from a combination of resources (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 96). Universities' dependence on municipal, ecclesiastical, royal, and social support affected institutional practices on every level.⁴

³ Hence, educational practices, and theories taught, for example, in medicine, fluctuated in academic institutions and in intellectual circles within them, due in great part to the particularities of civil life and governing bodies of different kingdoms. In Valencia, for example, municipalities carried out a process in which surgeons and doctors were given exams in order to obtain license to practice (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología XVI* 90). In Aragón and also in the kingdom of Navarra, control of public sanitation and licensing was relegated to local religious brotherhoods (*cofradías*), and doctor, surgeon, and barbers' guilds, whereas, in Castilla, these were the responsibilities of the Tribunal of Protomedicato (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología XVI* 91).

⁴ In Salamanca, there were seventy *cathedras* and the school was known for its studies of theology and canonical law. The faculty of arts, in which instruction of medicine was offered, provided a substantial contribution to the student population, being one of the most heavily attended in Spain (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 97). The University of Valladolid was controlled by a powerful cloister, which received its support from the municipality (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 98). Even though Valladolid was the first to offer courses teaching anatomy on a cadaver in 1550, this was

Academic institutions of the Spanish Kingdoms maintained strong connections with other European intellectual centers. Methodological practices from Italian universities were appropriated and implemented, albeit sporadically, within the Peninsula. For example, Spanish intellectuals, such as Luis Collado and Francisco Jimeno, were disciples of the great master of anatomy, Belgian intellectual Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564). Vesalius became widely known among his contemporaries for revolutionizing the practice of dissection by emphasizing the importance of hands-on investigation.

Both Collado and Jimeno attended universities outside the Iberian Peninsula, and eventually returned to Spain; and both would become revolutionary professors of *Anatomía y Materia Médica* at the University of Valencia. López Piñero describes how this anatomical revolution was initiated by Vesalius in part as a reaction against his professor Sylvius's methods of investigation. According to Vesalius,

...the most suitable way of teaching anatomy was the dissection of human corpses carried out and classified by the teacher himself. Verbal exposition, on the contrary, he regarded as full of limitations, since anatomical questions were usually, 'ardua atque difficillima dictum, fieri longe facillima,' (López Piñero, 'Vesalian Movement' 55).

Hence, new practices and notions about anatomical investigation spread through intellectual exchange between friends and disciples. The Vesalian Revolution took hold gradually with the displacement of Arabized Aristotelianism, which was replaced by a humanistic approach to Galenic and Hippocratic texts (López Piñero,

a not continued until the end of the century and the university did not have its own *cathedra* of anatomy (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 98). The University of Alcalá's centralized and aristocratic structure was guided by Cardenal Cisneros, but practical concerns relating to the institution's administrative affairs were left to the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 97).

‘Vesalian Movement’ 47, *Ciencia y tecnología* [1979] 97). However, this revolution in anatomical thought did not occur at the same speed within all universities. Differences between accepted scholarly authorities contributed greatly to variations about notions of bodily constitution and the natural world.⁵

In the past, Greek, Arabic, and Latin sources were used to study principles of motion and change in the natural world. Many drew from Aristotelian teachings in an attempt to harmonize conflicting theories about natural phenomena (Siraisi, *Italian Universities* 13). With the use of Aristotle’s inductive approach to the development of scientific knowledge, syllogistic logic became the basis for creating sequences that could be repeated when carrying out tasks; such as how to describe an object’s nature (MacLean 156). Natural historians and theologians used this methodology to defend positions of heated topics, like the purpose of the universe, the double nature of Christ and the Eucharist, and the plurality of souls. These topics were central to decisions made during the Council of Trent (MacLean 161). Sources such as Augustine, Galen, and Hippocrates, among others, were combined with Aristotelian accounts of zoological research, anatomy, physiology, psychology, and methodology. Such

⁵ Despite new educational trends taking hold, such as the implementation of the use of the theater of anatomy and the way performance of public dissection by professors was particular to a region. For example, in Valencia and Salamanca, Classical texts from Galen and Hippocrates with standardization of Vesalian techniques subsumed the teachings of Averroes, Avicenna, and Aritçtela (López Piñero, ‘Vesalian Movement’ 47). Yet, humanist perspectives of anatomical investigation also seeped slowly into Extremadura, where the Heronymites continued the tradition of Arabized Galenism with the diffusion and use of very few Vesalian texts (López Piñero, ‘Vesalian Movement’ 71). By acknowledging differences in the specificity of the techniques used to teach anatomy, the instructors chosen to teach at the university, and the theoretical traditions to which each instructor and university ascribed, be it classical or Arabized medicine, produced multiple conceptions of the constitution of the body. Parts of the body and their functions were in question, due in part to skepticism of whether or not classical authorities, such as Galen, had even used human cadavers for their research because certain results could not be duplicated. Credibility of texts, collection of data, and techniques for the presentation of material were all disputed amongst scholars, who could all legitimize their academic authority upon differing methodologies used to construct investigative findings (53).

information was used as a foundation for Classical notions of humors, fluids, complexions, and virtues (Siraisi, *Italian Universities* 27). However, a codified way to approach scientific exploration did not exist. As a result, ambiguity of structural and physiological components of the body and the universe remained. Moreover, varying theories as to how both influenced each other competed amongst scholars for credibility.

In *La peninsula metafísica*, Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor proposes that Spanish scholars were impeded by their reliance on Aristotelian logic and unaware of its methodological gaps. This would imply that anatomists only partially participated in discussions of early modern medicine with their other European contemporaries. I do not agree. Aristotelianism used in conjunction with Hippocratic and Galenic thought produced a springboard, and researchers used syllogisms and systems of classification to explore ‘*experientia*’, or knowledge derived from experimentation, and compare it with the best available authorities’ ‘*opinio*’ (MacLean 148). Even with such investigation, lines between categories in traditional taxonomies were still often unclear (MacLean 167).⁶ Yet, these discussions of discrepancies demonstrate a clear awareness of the limitations of established systems for collecting scientific information.

During this time, the Castilian monarchy worked to consolidate its power. In doing so, they put strong emphasis on collecting data about the natural world. For example, Phillip II spearheaded a program for gathering information on all aspects of

⁶ However, by focusing on the body’s relationship to the environment, Aristotelian thinking allowed for knowledge of the natural world to be understood in degrees, rather than in exact amounts (MacLean 163). At the same time, interest in regional differences, due to the popularity of Hippocrates’ *Airs, Waters, Places*, aided in the exploration of how the body was affected by the environment.

the natural world, including geography, astrology, anatomy, and many other subjects; He sent specialists, such as Dr. Francisco Hernández, to the Indies for precisely this purpose (López Piñero, *Ciencia y tecnología XVI* 93). In this way, there was a direct correlation between the unification of the Spanish kingdoms into an emerging empire, standardization of methodological approaches to identifying components of specimens, and the conceptualization of the natural world.

Rodríguez de la Flor has also explored this encyclopedic thirst of the Spanish crown and universities. He states that scientific investigation was also impeded by monarchical control. As a result, academic institutions were closed off from newer methodological practices:

...los estudios mayores de las universidades se ven convertidos en auténticos <<teatros escolásticos>>, donde el peso y la soberanía de los clérigos y sus saberes predominan intensamente. Así la escolástica, es decir la teología formalista de las escuelas, se convierte en un modelo de absoluto predominio en la vida estudiantil, rigiendo las representaciones que del mundo generan las academias españolas de entonces (27).

... the major studies of the universities were seen converted into authentic 'scholastic theaters', where the weight and the sovereignty of the clergy and their knowledge predominated intensely. In this way, scholasticism, that is, the formalist theology of the schools, is converted into a model of absolute predominance in student life, directing the representations of the world that Spanish academies generated then.

Rodríguez de la Flor portrays academic investigation as a mix of stagnated practices. Such conclusions would discredit Spanish universities' contributions to research as an effective measure for political legitimization.

It is true that curricula were subject to monarchical control. In fact, they were also subject to the Inquisition, which had been established in 1478 in Spain. The

primary purpose of the Inquisition was to guard against heresy and preserve orthodoxy. Nevertheless, even with the religious and political examination of classroom theory to assure support of the church and crown, scholarship and investigation about the natural world did not decrease. For example, one reads that students were later required by Phillip II to swear to uphold Church doctrine of Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas, and the Immaculate Conception. Nevertheless, the reality of the book burning and the Inquisitorial trials of processors that Rodríguez de la Flor discusses seem to point not at the decline of Spanish intellectual life (36). On the contrary, student life and the production of historiography that described the New World and its inhabitants flourished, demonstrating a continuing exchange of ideas.⁷

Aristotelianism continued to be one of the strongholds within Spanish universities. The Philosopher was consulted for questions about both medicine and rhetoric, thereby creating very porous boundaries between disciplines. This permeability was often due to interdisciplinary training. Physicians were learned in many subjects besides anatomy, such as theology, philosophy, natural history, music, mathematics, law, and much more (Siraisi, *Medicine Learning* 22). Interdisciplinary elements were also present in anatomical theaters, where students were taught about anatomy and physiology through dissection.

⁷ There is somewhat of a question that remains as to whether or not the portrayal of Spanish students as unlearned was possibly an outcome produced as a reaction to Phillip II's political policies, which provoked the construction of the Black Legend by rival empires as a convenient method to discredit Spanish authority. As Vidal and Tomás suggest, the representation of the Spanish as ignorant could be another mechanism by which to effectively critique political interference with academic institutions and monarchical policies rather than a symbol of intellectual decline (251-255). The crown did impress doctrinal regulation over some university curricula. But, even within the continued emphasis on Aristotelianism and Catholicism in Scholastic education, the flow and exchange of ideas in and out of the peninsula with the rest of the world was not eliminated. The Vesalian Revolution taking hold within Spain during the sixteenth century is a concrete example of this, even if Vesalius himself did not receive strong support from members of Charles V and Phillip II's courts.

In these theaters, a professor read from medical texts of Antiquity, while the students observed the cadaver being dissected below:

The animated audience of about twenty people is seated on a stand of two or three tiers, occupying the sides... A person placed on the left... is drawing on the board. The professor, in an armchair placed between the stands, presides over the scene. In the foreground, in the center of the all, is the dissection table with the corpse, and at its feet the figure of the dissector on a platform with his back to us. A pedestal supports the rectangular table. Smoke rises from a receptacle on the right under the table, in which undoubtedly aromatic substances are burning. To the left of the pedestal, a tall wide-necked vessel reaches up to the lower side of the table, probably to catch the body fluids, which drain through a hole in the table (Vidal, Tomás 263, 264).

As dissection was carried out, much like a theatrical performance, poetic devices were utilized, which not only governed the writing of theoretical texts but also the theatrical exposition of knowledge (Siraisi, *Rhetoric* 191).

Before the Vesalian Revolution, medical theory consisted of definitions and principles memorized from authors of Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Siraisi, *Medicine Learning* 8). Vesalius carried out dissections himself and spoke directly to his students. Even so, his hands-on approach did not discredit the belief that inquiry into anatomical structures of the body would further reveal information pertaining to the soul (Klestinec, *History of Anatomy* 376, 392).

With the implementation of Vesalius's techniques, the relationship between narrative and anatomy continued to evolve. Other important medical researchers, like Girolamo Fabrici (Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente, 1533-1619), continued to use the anatomical theater, but not merely as a place for dissection. In fact,

... The meaning of the *theater* continued to shift, as did the meaning of *spectator*. It was no longer a place where students came to see the process of dissection and to learn the particularities of anatomical structure[s]... a range of spectators came to watch and listen to Fabrici

as he expounded the (initially anatomical causes) of human nature (Klestinec, *History of Anatomy* 400).

Fabrici linked anatomical investigation to a teleological understanding of nature and a system of causal explanation. The isolating of structures and identifying of their functions were practices used to emphasize how the parts of a physical exterior fit into larger systems, creating an entire organism and how this, in turn, related to the design of a universal natural hierarchy (Klestinec, *Civility* 440).

The History-Writer Practitioner and Disease

The same processes of collection and reconstruction of information gathered in dissection governed a physician's hand when he wrote about natural order. As such, natural order was a socially defined experience because all were subject to specific norms in order to be part of the social body. Conversely, natural order's corruption would consist of rejecting such principles. I categorize this rejection or corruption as disease. In the quote below, Michael Solomon explains how disease is a social phenomenon.

Since disease is constituted outside (and independent of) the pains and disability suffered by the patient, any constellation of signs and symptoms can be classified and treated as diseased. In fact, since medicine is inescapably bound up in ideology, it is possible to categorize any phenomenon that is deemed to disrupt the social as well as the biological order as disease (Solomon 18).

Any "body" could be diseased, based upon what was perceived as disorder of the natural hierarchy. Disease, while individually diagnosed, was a patient's experience of becoming dis-eased or dis-ordered. To diagnose and isolate disease was paramount because it threatened social cohesion. Thus, the diagnosis and treatment of disease served to restore social order by ostracizing and ultimately reshaping

disruptive behaviors. As a result, diagnosis of disease could be and was used as a means of inoculating and eradicating those who did not accept the Castilian monarchy's authority to rule.

Disease was a common trope used in medieval and early modern literature, both in medical and literary texts. For example, in Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor*. In this tale of lovesickness, Leriano falls in love with the daughter of the King of Macedonia, Laureola. Leriano writes letters of affection to the princess, who responds only to reject him. A jealous suitor, Persio, accuses the two of having relations, and Laureola is imprisoned. Leriano will free her and kill Persio, but is rejected just the same. Leriano's unwanted pursuit of Laureola causes social disaccord by throwing suspicions of impropriety upon the princess for having received his letters. Leriano has fallen ill to loves sickness and finds his only way to be healed is through his death. On his deathbed, Leriano holds a pagan mass and consumes Laureola's rejection letter. Leriano dies swallowing this mixed with wine if it were a Eucharist of Laureola in a final attempt to commune with her through her words (Benito-Vessels, *Heterodoxa* 29).. In exemplary literature and in more scientific texts, illness was portrayed as threatening to social order and in need of eradication.

Disease was observed, recorded, and analyzed, in case studies, were called *historiae*. He, who wrote *historiae*, acted as an agent of civic order because he decided who was healthy and who was not. In this way, medical case studies became cautionary narratives, or *exempla*, of how to prevent outbreaks of disease:

At the bottom, these texts are aimed to change not only the condition of the body but the ethics of the audience's lifestyle... [the] duty as a

physician was to be also a wise confidant, counselor, and pedagogue. An epistemology of persuasion, based not only on rhetorical devices but also on evidence and truth, can therefore connect (by means of references to historical or physiological true facts) moral advice and therapeutic recommendations within an ethical context. The goal sought is to achieve the well-being of the prince and the citizens within a framework of the well-being of the city as a whole. It is no coincidence.... [to] compare... the art of curing and salubrious living with the art of governing well (Crisciani 317).

Because of a physician's medical and literary roles, he was both a history-writer and a medical practitioner. History-writer practitioners could produce pragmatic texts because any set of characteristics that threatened social cohesion may have been diagnosed as diseased. In early modern Spanish society, those who rejected Catholicism were considered spiritually disordered. In this way, the spreading of disease could be combated through the use of narrative. Those observations that were recorded in authorized forms, or autopsies, would serve as guides for others to avoid behaviors that caused disease.

Physicians wrote about their observations from routine anatomical research as well as from their own experience of patients suffering from illness and disease. Records were kept in *historiae*, or *vera narratio*, where one could find detailed information of a patient's particulars.⁸ Information contained in these descriptions was wide-ranging; from knowledge of the natural world to analyses of men's actions. Just as physicians kept these logs, so too did politicians, philosophers, and other intellectuals, thereby uniting various forms of inquiry under this broad form of

⁸ It is not just that the scholars who engaged in antiquarian research or in the descriptive natural sciences shared the common culture of late humanism, in several cases, they were actually the same person. Learned physicians and naturalists not only incorporated *historiae* into their own disciplines but were often active contributors to the antiquarian and historical culture of their age (Pomata and Siraisi 7).

narration (Pomata and Siraisi 8). Nevertheless, in these *historiae*, there was no differentiation between mythical and scientific, fictional or nonfictional, and poetic or historic per se.

Rather, these descriptions were the basis of a literary genre used to provide a picture or tale, in which a chain of events or essentials had been fashioned together to explain a result (Pomata and Siraisi 9). In certain instances, individual case studies were considered a less credible way to explore and record particular information. Such a view was held due to the fact that there were no methodological boundaries to limit contents included or how they were written. Moreover, the use of one specific history rather than many would not provide ample evidence from which to gather higher truths for correct living. In this case, one sees the relationship here between medicine and narrative clearly. According to Aristotelian thought, universals were extrapolated from poetry, whereas history was to consist of particular instances. In a book of case studies about different diseases, combinations of as many sources as possible would be included in order to arrive at higher moral principles to guide another in maintaining health.

As said, this connection between narrative and medicine is also revealed in the evidence used to create such universal principles from the *historiae*. Such principles were devised and sustained by evidence of educated 'eyewitness' reports. As a result, the distinction between veracity and verisimilitude was blurred because value was not placed on the actual but rather the possible. In this way, one could diagnose disease by connecting unknown phenomena to accepted information through establishing likeness. For example, logs of medical treatment by surgeons held the details of the

patient and their condition. In order to endorse one's techniques, practitioners expounded on anecdotes of personal experience and connected them with theoretic medical texts. This was a common literary practice used to resolve questions arising from discrepancies between their own practical investigation and the existing framework of medical knowledge (Siraisi, *Universities* 75).⁹

Hence, *historia* was a cognitive category, which underwent significant change as humanist ideas began to challenge and even displace Scholasticism (Pomata and Siraisi, 4). In Scholastic thought, *historiae* were meant to describe,

...‘how a thing is’ without explaining why it is so... ancillary to philosophy, the humble prelude to philosophical knowledge of causes. In contrast, the humanists rediscovered the ancient Greek (pre-Aristotelian) usage of the word as knowledge in general, not limited to *res gestae* but fully including nature... the term came to be associated with a cluster of concepts all variously related to descriptive, nondemonstrative knowledge (*cognitive quod est*), knowledge based on sensory perception (*sensata cognitio*), and knowledge of particulars (*cognitio singularum*). This trend culminated in the Baconian identification of *historia* and *experientia*... [an] association with the semantic field of factual knowledge (*Historia*, 4-5).

These *historiae* were written by physicians, antiquarians, theologians, jurists, among others, who were making inquiries into general knowledge, where the study of people was merely one aspect (Pomata and Siraisi 6-8).

In such analyses, the notion of empirical ‘truth’ was secondary to the collection of information. By including as many credible sources as possible, the investigator was able to weave together a more complete ‘stage of knowledge’ (Pomata and Siraisi 8). Nevertheless, this knowledge was written in such a way as to

⁹ The approach had the obvious limitation of making it extremely difficult to assimilate any observations that did not lend themselves to harmonization with the *auctores*. But it also had the merit of supplying intellectual legitimating for increased attention... [placing] direction confrontation of general texts on *practica* with details of actual cases treated (Siraisi, *Universities* 76).

legitimize their methods and principles for diagnosing and remedying diseases. They were also meant to support the system in which a practitioner had been granted his own authority (Solomon 19-21).

In this sense, anatomical investigation was linked to public health concerns and societal control. Dissection and autopsy were used to study disease for its prevention or eradication. Through such practices, conceptions of disease were being solidified within anatomical theaters and descriptions in *historiae* accompanied the findings. *Historiae* paralleled anatomical theaters as spectacles because emphasis was placed on the connection between unwanted behaviors and death.

In public dissections, bodies were slowly cut apart to explicate anatomical norms (Harley 5, Park 14). Autopsies were carried out with the purpose of answering forensic and public health questions. Those dissected were marginalized members of society such as the poor, criminals, and foreigners of at least thirty miles away (Harley 27, Park 12). Disarticulation, then, was reserved specifically for those of a lesser social status. Men stripped the integrity of outcasts' cadavers, whereas they established a chronology of pathological conditions for those of a higher social status.

When dissected, one's status as socially diseased passed to the status of someone who had been healed. With the writing of the autopsy report, the threat of disease would no longer exist. The dead were safely placed within a historical narrative that would serve the social body. In this way, the healing of disease is linked to the death of socially unacceptable behaviors, difference, and those who embody them.

By determining the cause of death, one could pinpoint the unhealthy behaviors that led to extinction and why one should act in a different manner. Hence, social norms could be regulated through medical findings. The integrity of the social body would be maintained through the reaffirmation of practices supporting the governing regime. In this sense, narrative reconstruction of disarticulated parts of the diseased could be re-cognized into an acceptable order. Moreover, the cause of death determined in the process of disarticulation served as an exemplary lesson.

A history-writer practitioner could use such lessons to diagnose any unwanted behaviors as diseased. By carrying out an examination of the ill, he was able to refashion such parts into a textual autopsy; or a recipe for the avoidance of disorder or its remedy. In this sense, *historiae*, or autopsies, were a powerful mechanism by which to reaffirm political authority and maintain societal health. By utilizing *historiae* to observe and reconstruct the past, analyses of phenomena could be used to explain the present natural world. In this way, the past was conceptualized as inferior, or sick, and as a result, dead; whereas the present was healthy due to the practices instituted by a political regime for social order.

In compiling such information, the goal was to study previous instances as lessons for success in the future. In other words, historical narrative became a way to continue the survival of present order by curing it of past conditions. Establishing patterns through textual investigation, bits of information were constructed to show the ascent from the natural phenomena of the world as they were connected to higher celestial bodies, and to suggest the nature of divine order (Ogilvie 92). Through observation of the natural world, the collection of its history, allegorical and moral

interpretations of phenomena could present and reveal the existence of God and his will on earth (Ogilvie 91-93).

By creating codified methods for writing empirical discourse, connections could be made between the natural. “Renaissance anatomy and natural history provided the framework on which physico-theology could take shape,” (Ogilvie 91). Thus, through contemplation of phenomena, a history-writer practitioner can draw and follow a path of discovery to divine knowledge (92). Yet, at the same time, that which is demonstrated as God’s providential order is contingent upon interpretation and extrapolation of patterns to authorize such assertions. As a result, textual dissection and discursive autopsy were used to shape history as individually tailored to the socio-political needs of a ruling regime. According to Ogilvie,

In Aristotelian philosophy, final causes were located in the essence of a natural thing.... In a natural thing, formal, final and efficient causes were united. The formal, final, and efficient causes of artificial things, on the other hand, were located in the craftsman. By eliminating intrinsic final causes... [this] made nature into a work of art- or, to take the metaphor that was increasingly popular in early modern Europe, into a kind of machine... final causation imposed from without, by God’s design (97).

Hence, by gathering as much information as possible, one could assert authority over all other interpretations of collected evidence. The increase in narratives containing information about the history of the natural world went hand in hand with the unification of the Castilian monarchy as defenders of Catholicism (Rodríguez de la Flor 21-58). With the unification of kingdoms under the monarchy’s rule, Castile was portrayed as a growing organic body, much like the Church, with Christ at its head. Each kingdom played a key part in the history and well-being of the whole.

Scholars used their knowledge of dogma and Classical texts to legitimize the sovereignty of the Castilian monarchy as the outcome of God's will. As a result, the production of such narratives served also to be able to read the body as a providentially designed text of Castilian right to rule.

No en la uña, sino extendido por todo el cuerpo imaginario... el predicador tuviera distribuida mnemotécnicamente la materia del sermón... 'En la cabeza, el primer texto; en la frente, el segundo, en el ojo derecho, el tercero y así va discurriendo por las partes, asentado discursos... como la batalla de David, en la cabeza; la muerte de Abasalón en los cabellos...' (Herrera cited in Rodríguez de la Flor 313).

Not in the nail, but extended throughout the imaginary body... the preacher would distribute metonymically the material of the sermon... 'In the head, the first text, in the forehead, the second, in the right eye, the third and in this way goes on depositing, through the parts, placing discourses... like the battle of David in the head; the death of Abasalon in the hair...

The notion of the body as text was used to reaffirm the experience of the Catholic King's authority as a corporeal reality and present in all aspects of life. For this reason, one needed to obey social norms in order to remain healthy and in harmony with the universe.

Poetics as Medicine

With the body understood as a book, it could be broken down into the parts of speech, as if it were a narrative in itself:

...the 'structure' of speech is 'as regular as that of the human body,' of which, for example, the hand is part of the whole, fingers are part of the hand, and the joints at the fingers, (Quintilian cited in Williams 596).

Through the analogy of the hand, every part of a body is divided into various sections, based upon the works of previous scholars. The body, like a hand, is

readable, or a book of sewn together pieces of texts, with varying bits of information. The connections made between the pieces of texts are used to comprehend the greater structural relationship of the hand to the body, the body to the world, and *ad infinitum* until the relationship is drawn between the hand, a person, a people, their nature, and place in the universe. A live body then would tell the story of God's creation and Castile's triumphant place at the pinnacle of history. However, a cadaver's different parts were mapped and identified through systematic descriptions from the use of ancient texts. In this manner non-Christians were read and dissected into recognizable pieces from the past. In this way, the nobleman Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, in his treatise *De historia, para entenderla y escribirla*, compares the bones of a relic too that of the pieces of history that must be collected:

... Por esto no admira que don Alonso el Magno, rey de Aragon y de Nápoles, que vivió más dozientos años después del Rey don Alonso el Sabio... sabiendo que en los de Patabia hallaron el cuerpo de Libio en una urna antigua, les rogó con promesa de grandes dones que se le diesen. Por preciosa reliquia alcanzó de ellas un hueso: ¡qué hiziera si cobrara el cuerpo entero de la historia! (20-21)

Because of this it is not surprising that Don Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Naples, who lived more than two hundred years after King Don Alfonso the Wise... knowing that those of Patabia discovered the body of Libius in an ancient urn, pleaded with them with promise of great gifts he would give them. The precious relic he obtained from them a bone ¡what would he do if he recovered the whole body of history!

In Córdoba's quote, he portrays history as a composite of parts. He uses the image of a corpse, specifically Saint Libius. To obtain a relic of a saint's body was to have a piece of the divine in hand. For this reason, the King obtains a piece of history in exchange for great gifts in order to possess it. In medieval times, acquiring relics was common practice. If one was able to gain access to these different items, which in

this case, represent history, they could order them in any fashion them according to pragmatic needs.

In order arrange different pieces of history, Córdoba again relies on the image of history as a body. He explains how each part of history should be proportionate to the other in such a way as to not stand out from the others. He writes,

La entereza de las partes tan caval y tan hermanas entre sí, que ninguna se queje ni agrave haberse descuidado para que no resulte hermosura grande en todo el cuerpo de la obra. La narración es este cuerpo, exposición de juicio, ornamento y prudencia, de las cosas... (76).

The entirety of the parts so proportionate and so sisterly between them, that neither complains nor aggravates having been uncared for so that beauty does not result throughout the whole body of the work. Narration is this body, exposition of reason, morality and prudence, of things...

Córdoba points out such pieces must be woven together in such a way as to establish a uniform integrity and consistency amongst the parts. In this way, the order of the parts becomes central to the life of the historical body rather than the parts or 'bones' themselves. According to Córdoba, the order reveals the discernment, moral, and prudence of he who has created the composition and will determine that of the work as well.

In the work, differences, such as fashions, customs, cultural and social practices were collected, named, and categorized using common literary and historical references. As Mary Hodgen explains, this was a process of "...conversion of the culture traits of living savages into potential documents," (332). A historical operation was used to combat the disease of non-Christianity. This was done by remapping in space and time non-Christians' dissected parts, which could be sewn

together in an autopsy to explain why they were, should, and would eventually be causally part of a defeated past. Refashioning textual remains was a systematic form of eradicating the threat of differences, which were not comprehensible to or did not fit into the present order of a Christian civic body.

Hence, ideological frameworks within such narratives reflected how notions of disease and health could be used to war upon non-Christian differences. Such frameworks were revealed by the spatial and chronological constraints used to record them. (O’Gorman cited in Padrón 26). As a result, any phenomenon was subject to limits imposed by its representation but also those who governed its inscription.

Ricardo Padrón wrote:

‘Description’ would seem to be the most mundane of discursive modes, the most innocent, the most purely referential way of utilizing language. But ‘description’, like ‘emplotment,’ entails the encounter between data and expectations, between observations and culturally contingent assumptions about the production of meaning. While ‘emplotment,’ shapes time into narratives, ‘description’ likewise draws boundaries, making places out of disparate locations... it constitutes nothing more than a *mise en scène* for the real work of historiography, which is narrative. But by the time the story gets going, the stage has been set, and in its construction, much of the ideological work has already been done... (Padrón 19-26).

In other words, such narratives, even containing scientific discourses, were both referential, and persuasive. The structures of information in them revealed the desires, expectations, and other ideological premises used to make meaning between otherwise unconnected information.

In this way, the boundary between history, the study of particulars, and poetry, the elaboration of particulars to create universals, became blurred. In the sixteenth century treatise, *Philosophia Antigua Póetica*, Alonso López Pinciano wrote about

Aristotelian notions of the difference between veracity and verisimilitude. Pinciano explained that Aristotle proposed imitation as the foundation of poetic representation. The foundation differentiated it from history, whereas verisimilitude, or plausibility was separated from instances of the actual.

Pinciano wrote that the veracity of history could be maintained by quoting directly that which has been found in credible texts. Nevertheless, history could be appropriated, and from new order and combinations of *historiae*, poetry was made.

...la prestancia de la Poética sobre la Historia en esso consiste: que el poeta escribe lo que inuenta y el historiador se lo halla guisado. Assí que la Poética haze la cosa y la cría de nuevo en el mundo, y por tanto, le dieron el nombre griego que en castellano quiere decir hazedora, como poeta, hacedor, nombre que a Dios solamente dieron los antiguos; más la Historia no nos da la cosa, sino sólo el lenguaje y disposición de él (Pinciano, II:11).

... the distinction of Poetics over History consists of the following: that the poet write what he invent and the historian what he has found. In this way the Poetics makes the thing and it rebirths it again in the world, and because of this, they gave it the Greek name that in Castilian wants to say creator, and the poet, maker, a name given only to God by the ancients; however History does not give us the thing, but rather only the language and the disposition of it

Pinciano portrayed poetry as superior to history because it was a creation, a power granted to the poet by God, whereas history was merely a reproduction of an event through language.

That is to say, pieces of text were transplanted into another narrative, in which “el historiador no haze más que trasladar lo que otros han escrito” (Pinciano, I: 266)/ “the historian does nothing else but copy that which others have written.” Nevertheless, as investigations were amassed into volumes, historical particulars

became the foundations for a historical epic. Here universal axioms for health, or the continued rule of Castile, were explained.

Similarly, Cabrera de Córdoba also presents narrative's didactic function from a medicinal perspective. "...la medicina muestra lo salutífero para usar dello, lo venenoso para huirlo: la historia, la naturaleza del bien y del mal por sus efectos muestra." (47) Poetics taught men what could heal or kill, and more so how to live well by following narrative norms:

Yo digo, es la historia narración de verdades por hombre sabio, para enseñar a bien vivir... El género es narración, de que se tratará cuando se toma por el cuerpo o figura de la historia. La diferencia es verdades, con que excluye la narración de la poesía, que es de mentiras: y así es mucho la defensa y desconvencencia, entre la historia y la poesía, no por ser ésta en verso; la otra en prosa escrita, como vulgarmente se tiene; si bien el verso es propio de la poética facultad; él no, la imitación sí, hace la poesía, pues la hay en prosa (Cabrera de Córdoba 24).

I say, history is the narrative of truths by a wise man, in order to teach how to live well... The genre is narrative, of which will be treated when it is taken into the body or figure of history. The difference is truths, with which excludes narrative from poetry, which is of lies: and so is much the defense and inconvenience, between history and poetry, not for being this one in verse, and the other written in prose, as vulgarly thought; if well the verse is typical to the poetic faculty, not it, the imitation yes, makes poetry, because it exists in prose.

Cabrera de Córdoba delineated history as a narrative genre but did not limit poetry to verse. Similar to Pinciano's position, the difference between poetry and history were based on veracity and verisimilitude. The historian was not to change any aspect of what he narrated (25). Yet, poetry was founded on the description of such particulars in historical narrative, as an imitation of truth. However, the imitation of the particulars was not as they were, but as they should or could have been. Events from the lives of admirable men were recorded into history. From these histories,

universals were extrapolated, and made to quiet and delight, inspiring virtue in readers. Poetic imitation serves as a model to replicate such actions of heroes or to offer advice for the Republic's conservation and good government.

Like Pinciano's, Cabrera de Córdoba's history-writer practitioner transplanted dates and events from Classical and credible authors. Yet historical narrative inverted itself into what should or could have happened, to legitimize the Republic's authority. That is, both veracity and verisimilitude could take narrative form and separation between the two was not limited to meter and verse. Because the blend of historical particularities constituted poetry, it becomes questionable as to what was irreplaceable or able to be erased in the imitation of reality rather than its actual representation. The frontier between fiction and reality was blurred as specifics were violently dismembered and knit into a universal narrative. Hence, the person who carries out historical or scientific investigation would thus be a master of poetry, and a history-writer practitioner a poet, who would use learned texts in order to give credibility to the results of his investigations and legitimacy to the Castilian throne.

The history-writer practitioner needed the skills of an antiquarian to report possible references so as to not duplicate the naming of conditions, or species that had already been discovered (Pomata and Siraisi 18-19). The recycling of, "nuggets of [ancient] texts," from their original contexts did not require them to be combined and explained in actual chronological order of discovery by original authors. Instead, these could be reconstructed to best support the investigator's findings (Pomata and Siraisi 20, Blair 275).¹⁰

¹⁰ Chronological order was secondary in the ordering of sources when writing *historiae*. It was acknowledged that no one could know the original intent of the author, who had originally written the

The ability to create pragmatic discourse by combining various sources was central to establishing the legitimacy of Castilian rule. It was also fundamental to producing texts in which exemplary codes of conduct that supported this rule were promulgated. Pinciano reaffirms the creation of verisimilar tales through the transplanting of textual remains in order to provide such instruction:

Exemplo de la naturaleza es el niño, que apenas dexa vacío el seno de la madre y ya comienza a imitar: si reys, ríe, si lloráis [pág. 102], llora; si cantáys, canta; si cerráys el ojo, le cierra; si amenaçáys, amenaça; y, ya mayor, si jugáis pelota, juega pelota; si pala, pala, si hazéys processión o disciplina, él haze processión y se disciplina, y otras infinitas monerías. Mas éstas basten por exemplo de naturaleza; y, de la imitación que haze la arte, está lleno el mundo. Pregunto: ¿Qué haze el çapatero, sastre, bonetero, calcetero, sino imitar y remedar al pie, pierna, y cabeça del hombre? ¿Qué el armero, sino lo que todos estos quatro? ¿Y qué el pintor, sino lo que todos cinco y mucho más? ¿Qué el médico, sino imitar a la naturaleza quando bien exercita su obra? ¿Y qué el gouernador, quando co[n] hartura, justicia y paz, rige y gouierna su tierra, sino imitar al Sumo Gouernador, el qual, con su infinita bondad, harta al mundo de pan, paz y justicia? Esto, pues, que la naturaleza y arte obran quando remeda a las obras de otros, esto, digo, es dicho imitación (Pinciano I:195-197).

Example of nature is the child, that barely leaves empty the breast of the mother and already begins to imitate: if you laugh, he laughs, if you cry, [page. 102], he cries; if you sing, he sings; if you close the eye, he closes it; if you threaten, he threatens; and when older, if you play ball, he plays ball; if you hit, he hits, if you do procession or discipline, he does procession and self disciplines and other infinite gestures. But these are enough an example of nature; and, of imitation that makes art, full is the world. I ask: What does the hat maker, tailor, hat maker, sock maker, but imitate and remedy the foot, leg, and head of man? What the armor maker but all of those four? And the painter, but those five and much more? And the doctor, but imitate nature when he executes his art well? And how about the governor, when with generosity, justice, and peace rules and governs his land, but imitates the Divine Governor, which, with his infinite goodness, fills the world with bread, peace and justice? This, then, that nature and art work when emulates the works of others, this, I say, is such imitation.

work. “Those who read and disconnected bits in these large reference books cannot know the intention of their original author, and it is hard for them not to apply them badly and against the use for which they were made,” (Baillet quoted in Blair 279).

In this quote, Pinciano describes how poetry is made with imitation by comparing how a child learns to live and play with the way a man apprehends his profession. Poetry is not understood merely as textual reproduction of a previous history. On the one hand, poetry is the art of imitation. On the other hand, it is also the ability to remodel actual and textual realities into something like the original, but not the same. It could be used as a means to teach the art of living well and in order with nature, as well as to provide a cautionary tale. Thereby poetry could mend what had been and bring about what should have been in the future. This is what gives verisimilitude its powerful healing (or violent) capacity.

This relationship between medicine and poetics, is thus based upon a capacity to (re)- establish health, or accepted social behaviors through imitation and recreation.

Pinciano wrote of poetry's medicinal qualities.

...¿para qué te canso lector si sabes que Apolo fue médico y poeta, por ser estas artes tan affines que ninguna más? Que si el médico temple los humores, la Poética enfrena las costumbres que de los humores nacen... (Pinciano I:8).

... for what reason do I tire you reader if you know that Apollo was doctor and poet, for being these arts more similar than any other? For if the doctor tempers the humors, poetry bridles the customs born of humors ...

In other words, medicine and poetry were not only similar in function; they were also connected through their curative powers. Pinciano linked medicine and poetics, as well as bodily and social health, through this notion of imitation. He did so with the premise that words could be used to heal both the body and the soul. For Pinciano, like Huarte, physical well-being was bound to as well as reflective of the condition of

the soul. This is because language was used to demarcate the biological, social, and spiritual health of a man.

Latitude as Diagnostic Tool

According to early modern medical theory, man's health was also determined by how environmental influences affected his bodily constitution. For example, regional factors such as air, temperature, diet, and terrain, education, rhetoric, and fashions would become ingrained over time and alter one's biological make-up. Such theory was inherited from Classical philosophers, such as Galen and Hippocrates.

For example, in Hippocrates' treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, he wrote,

For, where the changes of the seasons are most frequent, and where they differ most from one another, there you will find their forms, dispositions, and nature most varied. These are the strongest of the natural causes of difference, next the country in which one lives, and the waters, for in general, you will find the forms and dispositions of mankind to correspond with the nature of the country...(41).

Hippocrates diagnosed the changing of people's dispositions on the basis of temperature, land, and water. People's characters were distinct in different zones due to the way the climate affected their physical being. As a result, their physical being became distempered and caused them to act in particular ways; Some would act more sinfully than others. In his treatise, Hippocrates analyzes several groups of peoples based upon regional climatic influences. He draws connections between similar physical features of a people, moral attributes he deems positive and negative, their customs, and the climate. In this way, he establishes a sort of hierarchy for who is the most temperate and how they act.

Galen, another physician of Antiquity, would also provide several definitions of health, as the embodiment of balance in many of his different treatises on medicine. For example, in *De morborum differentiis*, to describe health, Galen wrote, “...the functions of the body are in accord with nature ... the constitution... of the organs by which we function is in accord with nature. ” (22) In his *Definitiones medicae*, “Health is a εὐκράσια in accord with nature of the primary humours in us, or function of the physical capacities that is unhindered. Health is an εὐκράσια of the four primary elements (στοιχεῖα) from which the body is composed.” (22)¹¹ This question of health and balance would become a very important link between Classical and early modern medical theory. Both Galen and Hippocrates relied on the theory of the four humours and their balance in order to maintain health. This balance is negotiated between climatic influences.

In the sixteenth century, both Hippocrates and Galen’s theories continued to be used by physicians but they were also Christianized. According to Huarte, nevertheless, all Christians and non-Christians alike were diseased because of the climatic influences on their body from their places of origin; however, some were more diseased than others. Huarte wrote,

Pero viviendo como vivimos en regiones destempladas y con tantas desórdenes en el comer y beber, con tantas pasiones y cuidados de ánima y tan continuas alteraciones del cielo, no es posible dejar de estar enfermos, o por lo menos destemplados... cada uno el suyo conforme a la destemplanza que padece (Huarte [Ed. 1594 27]).

But living as we live in distempered regions and with so many disorders of eating and drinking, with so many passions and cares of the soul and so many continual alterations of the heavens, it is not possible to stop being sick, or at least distempered... to each his own according to the distemperament that he suffers...

¹¹ No correct symbol for u- it should have a round sort of apostrophe above it.

In Huarte's treatise, similar to Galen and Hippocrates, all men are linked to territories on a world map. A person fit within a kind of typology based upon knowledge about different regions. There is a direct impact of elements and ancestral relation upon the body, which are the sources of physical, mental and spiritual aptitudes. Thus, the description of the space in which one resided was paramount to comprehending their physical and spiritual conditions. All peoples could be written into a continuum of time and space and attributed varying characteristics in relation to these places while narratives were made by combining chronicles, poetry, letters, other texts, eye-witness and hearsay accounts. Principles reaffirming Castile's authority were then used to create these and to produce geographically determinative representations of people's histories and natures within them.

The link between environmental influences and health of the body, mind, and soul was the center point of Huarte's treatise:

...por razón de las destemplanzas que los hombres padecen, y por no tener entera su composición natural, están inclinados a gustos y apetitos contrarios, no solamente en la irascible y concupiscible, pero también en la parte racional. Lo cual se ve claramente discurriendo por todas las facultades que gobiernan al hombre destemplado... Pero, para que más claro se entienda que las varias destemplanzas y enfermedades que los hombres padecen es la causa total de hacer varios juicios en lo que toca a la parte racional, será bien poner ejemplo en las potencias exteriores; porque lo que fuere de ellas, será también de las interiores ([Ed. 1594] 25).

... for the reason of distemperaments that the men suffer, and for not having their entire natural composition, they are inclined to contrary likes and appetites, not only in the irascible and [the] concupiscible [kind], but also in the rational part. Which is clearly seen happening in all of the faculties that govern the distempered man... But, so that more clearly it is understood that the various distemperaments and illnesses that the men suffer is the total cause of making various judgments in what touches on the rational part, it will be good to put

an example of the exterior capacities; because whatever would be of them, also will be of the interiors ([Ed. 1594] 25, my translation).

In this quote, Huarte explains that when man's body is imbalanced, he is subject to bodily desires and his judgment is impaired. Thus external actions are reflections of one's interior, or intellectual and spiritual, conditions.

Because of their place of origin some men were subject to greater extremes, which would cause greater effects upon their bodies, minds, and souls. Huarte wrote,

... aquel hombre llagado representa la naturaleza humana después del pecado; porque antes lo había Dios creado perfectísimo en la compostura y temperamento que naturalmente se debía a su especie... [pero] en pecando Adán, luego lo echaron del paraíso terrenal (lugar templadísimo), y lo privaron del árbol de la vida y de los demás amparos que había para conservar su buena compostura... ([Ed. 1572] XXIII).

... that wounded man represents human nature after original sin; because before God had created him perfect in composure and temperament that naturally was due his species... [but] in sinning Adam, later they threw him from the earthly paradise (a most temperate place), and they deprived him of the tree of life and of the other protections that were to conserve him his good composure...

Therefore, behaviors, physical appearance, and speech could all be used to diagnose one's physical, intellectual, and moral health. Such manifestations of man's conditions were not a result of man being made sinful. Rather, Adam had sinned and was expelled from paradise.

The expulsion of Adam from Eden had caused his body and those of his descendents to be continually subject to harmful influences in their environments. The influences of the imbalanced environment adversely affected his physical being, and thus his capacity to make judgments, and therefore, also adversely affected his moral and spiritual being. Ultimately, the cycle of sin would continue with the

descendants he had as they multiplied and spread across the world. The kinds of behaviors and dispositions of Adam's descendants would be tailored specifically to the region within which they lived. Understanding regional influences on the body was the basis for classifying kinds of peoples based on their aptitudes, and placing them in a social hierarchy, which was represented as providentially designed. By recording observations about people's aptitudes, one could decipher their places of origin and read their bodies.

Thus, a map, just as a narrative, could also be considered another visual construction of temporality. Geography was a compilation of information at a specific moment. In its representation, the picture that emerged would be a product of a process of combining pieces of histories. By linking non-Christians to distant places, their behaviors would be comprehended as having led to their defeat and conquest.

Although non-Christians had been expelled from Castile, many times they were continued to be viewed as threats to the Christian social body. Such suspicions continued despite expulsion and conversion because of the belief that certain characteristics of peoples from certain areas could be transmitted genetically. Even when living outside the community, such traits could be passed on within familial lineage for hundreds of years. For this reason, many theories on natural philosophy such as those of Hippocrates, Galen, and many more, were used beyond the scope of medicine to neutralize the threat. According to Mary Floyd-Wilson,

... texts [were used] to produce 'scientific' ethnology that proves, as it turns, both deterministic and ideologically malleable ...geohumoralism, in its inception, aimed to comprehend (and estrange) the northern and southern climatic extremes that bordered

the Mediterranean. The same classical tripartite scheme that constructed ancient Greece and Rome as the civilized middle between the barbaric lands north and south... As the barbaric outsiders to the *polis* or *oikumene*, white northerners and black southerners, or Scythians and Ethiopians, were paired together in intemperance but opposed in particular qualities... (2).

In other words, ethnological description of new lands and peoples was related to their surroundings. As a result, authors represented bodies, behaviors, and origins of non-Christians as inferior and in need of the tempered guidance of their Castilian, Catholic counterparts.

Geography was the basis for understanding how man fit into God's universal design. Nicolás Wey Gómez elaborates that,

Geography was a *techne* profoundly implicated in the quest of philosophical explanation of the behavior of all physical creatures that occupied a natural place in the world-machine (237).

Representations of non-Christians from distant lands could be utilized to legitimize Castilian superiority as "civilized" inhabitants of the Mediterranean. The medical theory showed them to be superior because at the beginning of the 16th century, Castile and regions lying in the Mediterranean were understood to be the most centrally located and therefore made up the temperate corridor of the globe.

The temperate zone was from where the people of most balanced natures originated. It was believed that people were given by God the ability to rule over others. This was based in great part on the Aristotelian notion of balance explained in the *The Politics*:

... immediately from birth certain things diverge, some toward being ruled, others toward ruling. There are many kinds both of ruling and ruled [things], and the better rule is always that over ruled [things] that are better... for the work performed by the better is better, and wherever something rules and something is ruled there is a certain

work belonging to these together... It is in things whose condition is according to nature that one ought particularly to investigate what is by nature, not in things that are defective. Thus the human being to be studied is one whose state is best both in body and in soul... it advantageous for the body to be ruled by the soul, and the passionate part [of the soul] by intellect and the part having reason, while it is harmful to both if the relation is equal or reversed (40).

The further from the temperate zone and its people, the greater the corruption of the body, mind, and soul. Thus, the Christian empire had an obligation to expand in order to save the non-Christians and the imbalanced from their diseases. By being brought into the civic body and having contact with Christians, these people would be healed and saved. They would be given examples by Christians on how to live. Christians would aid them in a continual process of learning and assimilating to the faith after baptism. In this way, disease would not reemerge and infect those that had been healed.

Negative associations were made about those from locations further away from the central corridor. Climatic effects of more northern or southern latitudes would distemper their bodies and souls. Wey Gómez explains,

The three known continents-Europe, Africa, and Asia- were supposed to configure a single landmass stranded on an upper quarter of a globe otherwise covered by water, and the inhabited world itself was supposed to form a narrow 'temperate' and, thereby 'civilized' corridor of this geographical system, besieged to the north and to the south by the extreme cold and heat of the 'wild' arctic and tropics. Sub-Saharan Africa, or 'Ethiopia', and the lands that verged on the extended basin of the Indian Ocean, or 'India', were thus imagined as the hot, infertile, and uninhabitable fringes of the world, where a merciless heat forged the precious metals and stones so coveted in Europe, and where only geographical accidents such as the Nile or the Ganges occasionally invited nature to come back with a vengeance, spawning the myriad living 'marvels' and 'monsters' that had gripped the imagination of Mediterranean geographers since antiquity (50).

Hence, Castile would legitimize its expansion and conquest of non-Christian territories and peoples through medical theory. They were portrayed as best fit to rule over those from more northern (above the tropic of Cancer) and southern (below the tropic of Capricorn) latitudes.

The Castilians would be most apt to rule because the body of a person from the Mediterranean would be least affected by climatic influences, and their mind would be freer to govern the body and soul. As prescribed by Aristotle in *The Politics* long before,

Thus the human being to be studied is one whose state is best both in body and in soul- in him this is clear; for in the case of the depraved, or those in a depraved condition, the body is often held to rule the soul on account of their being in a condition that is bad and unnatural... it is according to nature and advantageous for the body to be ruled by the soul, and the passionate part [of the soul] by intellect and the part having reason while it is harmful to both if the relation is equal or reversed (40).

People from places moving further away from the temperate corridor would be subject to bodily imbalance from environmental influences. Extreme climatic influences would impede clear thinking and allow for bodily passions to rule over the mind, rather than the mind and soul ruling over the body.

Lands on the fringe of the known world were considered less hospitable to life. Therefore, the dispositions of its inhabitants would also reflect this. For example, a fifteenth century chronicler, Haly, wrote how climate was linked to depravity and disfiguration in relation to people from such climates:

‘In these two extremities live forest-dwelling men who eat human flesh. They have deformed and horrible faces. The cause for this is the intemperance of those regions, for which reason they are of evil habits and savage. There, the peoples, or beasts and monsters, are of such horrendous shape, that it is not hardly possible to tell whether

they are men or beasts. In that place, there are evil spirits and devils, as well as malicious beasts,' (Haly quoted in Wey Gómez 89).

As one left the temperate areas, bodily figures morphed due to fluctuation in exposure to elements. Minds and souls would also be transformed. In a similar sense, Huarte wrote,

Pero lo que más se ha de notar en este propósito es que si las demás partes del cuerpo son gruesas y carnosas, por donde el hombre viene a tener gran corpulencia, dice Aristóteles, que le echa a perder el ingenio (Huarte [Ed. 1594] 75).

But that which is most important to note in this purpose is that if the rest of the parts of the body are large and meaty, from where the man comes to have great corpulence, says Aristotle, that it causes him to lose his wit

Hence, it was believed that as one moved away from the localized temperate corridor, it became less likely that life would be able to survive in such places. However that which did survive would be physically and spiritually deformed.

It was believed that that which did survive in arctic or tropical environments was accidental, even unnatural, or diseased:

Because the theory of the 5 zones entailed universal claims, evidence of inhabited places outside the so-called temperate zones could be considered as the exception that proved the rule: while the torrid zone might be universally uninhabitable, on accounts of the sun's heat, it could nevertheless be *accidentally* inhabited on account of local conditions- like the presence of rivers that provided enough water to defeat drought or of cool winds that tempered the sun's searing heat. So, the notion that the cold or hot regions of the world could harbor life per *accidens* had dispensed with the need to revise the claim that the torrid zone was inhospitable. And this notion went hand in hand with the perception that tropical nature was intemperate- an unnatural mother that, when it did generate life, exceeded itself in every way... (Wey Gómez 162).

As one moved north or south away from the temperate corridor, it was believed more likely that peoples from these regions would suffer some sort of malformation;

Physical deformities were considered outward manifestations of sinful souls. The greater the exposure to the heat of the sun, the more extremely the body would be affected and acquire a more sinful nature. An example of this notion can be seen in the conceptualization of Moors still occupying the most southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula.

During the sixteenth century, there was a strong fear within Christian Europe that these Muslims and those from northern Africa would unite with the Ottoman Turk to invade continental Christendom. However, more than a religious link, an ontological relationship between these three non-Christian cultures was drawn based upon similar latitudes of their places of origin. As Wey Gómez explains,

Columbus shared with the great geographers before him- especially theoretical thinkers like Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Ptolemy- the fundamental premises that every place had its own unique nature, that similar places gave way to similar natures, and that different places gave way to different natures. And when it came to describing the similarities and differences between places on the surface of the globe, it was *latitude*, not longitude, that geographers had most closely associated with the nature of places... It was with latitude in mind that Mediterranean geographers had long established meaningful connections between sub-Saharan Africa, or 'Ethiopia,' and the extended basin of the Indian Ocean, or 'India.' Latitude explains why, for instance, geographers thought it natural that gold, cinnamon, crocodiles, elephants, and dragons should flourish in both Ethiopia and India, and why they marveled at the fact that the Ganges River should not have had hippopotamuses, like the Nile. Latitude also explains why Ptolemy, the most influential geographer of antiquity, should have assumed that 'black' people equally flourished in sub-Saharan Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and the very confines of the Indian Ocean... (49).

In the same way, verisimilar conclusions about non-Christians that inhabited unknown lands could be drawn. Thus, assumptions about the attributes and natures of familiar peoples could be transposed onto newly encountered peoples. By using

previously recorded phenomena, one could make a plausible prediction about their natures. Plausible predictions could be made by establishing an ontological link between a known group of people and an unknown group from similar latitudes, one could infer that they both had similar natures and predict how they would act.

People inhabiting regions above the Septentrion, such as the English, were believed to have great physical prowess due to the effects of cold and humidity upon the balance of the humors of their bodies:

Cold environments, however, generate a ‘fullness’ of blood, thus northerners possess courage, a ‘tall stature, fair complexion, straight red hair, blue eyes.’ And it is their excessive moisture that burdens them with ‘sluggish minds,’ (Floyd-Wilson 30).

Northerners needed to internalize heat to survive the cold and humidity, which strengthened them. However, the humidity also weakened their minds, giving them a phlegmatic disposition. Succinctly put, “those in the north are white, ignorant, dull-witted, brave, and physically strong,” (31). Floyd-Wilson’s argument is supported by how Huarte described the phlegmatic natures of northerners:

La misma sentencia trae Aristóteles preguntando por qué los que habitan tierras muy frías son de menos entendimiento que los que nacen en las más calientes; y en la respuesta trata muy mal a los flamencos, alemanes, ingleses y franceses, diciendo que su ingenio es como el de los borrachos, por la cual razón no puede inquirir ni saber la naturaleza de las cosas... ([1594] 133).

The same sentence brought forth Aristotle asking why those that live in land very cold one of less understanding than those that are born in those [lands] more hot; and in the answer writes very poorly of the Flemish, Germans, English, and French, saying that their wit is like that of the drunks, for which reason one cannot inquire or know the nature of things.

Nevertheless, people from below the Tropic of Capricorn would have dispositions that diametrically opposed those of people from above the Tropic of Cancer (Floyd-Wilson 31).

Similar to people from the north, people of southern climates also inhabited zones that were less than hospitable to the body. On the one hand, as Floyd-Wilson has explained, some classical and early modern thinkers believed that the characteristics of those from the north would mirror the opposite of those from the south. However, by utilizing the possible instead of the actual, non-Christians could be represented through continually modifiable narrative constructions. Any part of authoritative sources on medicine, travel, history, politics, and geography, amongst many other subjects, could be appropriated. Non-Christians could be built using a grid of values to make malleable images, which were reconstructed as deformities of nature.

For this reason, combinations of sources did not lead to a direct production of exact types of monsters that corresponded to an exact type of an environment or location. The construction and representation of monstrous peoples depended on source selection as well as the political ideals and goals at hand. Hence, coolness and humidity were two environmental factors that distempered the bodies of people from the north, giving them phlegmatic dispositions. In contrast though, the combination of humidity with heat could be used to produce an entirely distinct temperament with manifestations that were tailor made to legitimize actions taken by Christians in any region. For example, in the quote below, Huarte describes the sinful actions of those, who have been exposed to heat and humidity:

Y si no, quiero poner delante al filósofo moral un hombre lujurioso, gran comedor y bebedor, para que me le cure según las reglas de su arte, y que le engendre en su ánima hábito de castidad y temperancia, y que obre con ellas con suavidad, sin que le introduzca en los miembros de su cuerpo frialdad y sequedad y le corrompa el calor y humedad demasiado que antes tenía. Y veamos cómo lo hará, ([Ed. 1594] 64).

And if not, I want to put a lustful man before a moral philosopher, [who is a] great eater and drinker, so he can cure him for me according to the rules of his art, and can engender in his soul a habit of chastity and temperance, so he can act with softness without the influences of coldness and dryness in his body parts and without the corruption of humidity that he had before. And we shall see how he does it.

Huarte suggests that from exposure to heat and humidity to the body, sinful actions would follow because the person would be less able to control their desire for bodily gratification. Firstly, the heat would cause choleric tendencies in the patient:

Ello es cierto, como ya lo dejamos probado, que la cólera quemada y retostada es un humor que enseña al ánima racional de qué manera se han de hacer los embustes y engaños. Y, entre los brutos animales, ninguno hay que tanto participe de este humor como la serpiente; ([Ed. 1594] 119).

That is true, as we have proven it, that a burnt and overheated cholera is a humor that teaches to the rational soul in which manner one is to carry out tricks and deceptions. And, among brute animals, there is no other who participates of this humor like the serpent.

A choleric disposition is characterized by one's deceptive nature. In fact, Huarte compares this disposition to that of a serpent, alluding directly to the animal that tempted Eve in Eden.

At the same time, humidity could still be linked to the attribute of a strong physique, like a person from the north. Instead of mere strength, a person from the south would be extremely overgrown and monstrous. The physical characteristic of large size, caused by humidity, is magnified by the heat. In the same way, humidity could also magnify the deceptive nature caused by heat. For example, Huarte wrote,

...haber adquirido nuevo temperamento, húmido y vaporoso, con el cual se le borran las figures que antes tenía en la memoria, y [no] le entorpece el entendimiento... depende de la humedad como el entendimiento de la sequedad. Y llamamos a la memoria potencia racional porque sin ella no vale nada el entendimiento ni la imaginativa ([Ed. 1594] 97).

...having acquired a new temperament humid and vaporous, with which figures erase themselves from him which before he had in his memory, and [do not] confound his wit... it depends on the humidity like understanding of dryness. And we call memory rational potential because without it the understanding or imaginative faculties are not worth anything.

The presence of moisture could compound the choleric condition by causing this same creature to forget knowledge, or worse, to even to break agreements and promises.

This universal design was appropriated to imply that it was the nature of peoples of extreme climates to be ruled because they were distempered. Those from the temperate zones could aid in the salvation of the less tempered non-Christians from distant lands by providing access to Christian customs and language. In this way, the representation of non-Christians within narrative became a form of defense of the civic body. Such representations were used to legitimize Castilian subjugation of these peoples in order to save them as well as to protect the Christian civic body from the threat of disease.

One group of non-Christians may differ from another greatly based upon their varying places of origin and bodily compositions. Therefore the threat of the kinds of intellectual and spiritual sicknesses may fluctuate. According to Huarte, where one part of the body is made ill, another is given strength. Each kind of people then, like parts of a body, would perform specific functions. The same would apply to the

growing Catholic empire. Each kind of people from distant regions would use them to serve the crown. Not only were people subsumed into the Christian social body. So too were the histories of conquered groups. Pieces of these peoples' customs and pasts were also subjugated and now subject to use for the glorification of Castile.

In *Genio de la historia*, Gerónimo de San José elaborates on how various aspects of newly conquered societies were inscribed into Castilian history as a way to make it better.

...en España más que otra nación parece que andan a la par el traje y el lenguaje, tan inconstante y mudable el uno como el otro. Lo cual, si con moderación y elección se introdujese, no calumnia, sino lo podría conciliar. Porque el brío español no sólo quiere mostrar su imperio en conquistar y avasallar Reinos extraños, sino también ostentar su dominio en servirse de los trajes y lenguajes de todo el mundo, tomando libremente de cada provincia, como en tributo de su vasallaje, lo que más le agrada y de que tiene más necesidad para enriquecer y engalanar su traje y lengua sin embarazarse en oír al italiano o francés: este vocablo es mío, y al flamenco y alemán: mío es este traje. De todos con libertad y señorío toma como de cosa suya, pero con tal destreza que al vocablo y traje extraño que de nuevo introduce, le da una cierta gracia, aliño y gala, que no tenía en su propia patria y nación; y así mejorando lo que roba, lo hace con excelencia propio (San José 306-307).

... in Spain more than in any other nation it seems that dress and speech walk side by side, , so inconstant and mutable one like the other. Which, if with moderation and choice were presented, no slander, rather praise could reconcile. Because the Spanish spirit not only wants to show its command in conquering and subjugating foreign kingdoms, but also flaunt its dominion in helping itself to the dresses and languages of the whole world, taking liberally from each province, as in tribute of its subjugation, that which most pleases it and of which it has most necessity in order to enrich and ennoble its dress and tongue without embarrassment in the hearing the Italian or French: this word is mine, and to the Flemish and German mine is this suit. From all with freedom and elegance takes as if its thing, but with such skill that to the new word and foreign suit that of new introduces, it gives a certain grace, seasoning, and pride, which it did not have before in its own native land and nation; and thus bettering that which it robs, it does with its own excellence.

In this way, through the appropriation of strengths and customs, the Christian social body is constructed and grows from the inclusion of newly conquered peoples and lands. Their customs are to be utilized in a new way, to support the new ruling regime, rather than to be identified as part of a previously existing kingdom.

Languages, dress, and any other custom is tribute to be paid in service to Christian rule and would then be used only as a mechanism for maintaining its authority.

San Jose's description of Castilian history is similar to Aristotle's notion of a civil partnership, in which groups of people would band together. Aristotle's partnership, then, like the body, is constituted by types of people, who make up a whole:

The partnership arising from [the union of] several villages that is complete is the city. It reaches a level of full self-sufficiency so to speak; and while coming into being for the sake of living, it exists for the sake of living well. Every city, therefore, exists by nature, if such also are the first partnerships. For the city is their end, and nature is an end: what each thing is- for example, a human being, a horse, or a household- when its coming into being is complete is, we assert, the nature of that thing... The city is thus prior by nature to the household and to each of us. For if the whole [body] is destroyed there will not be a foot or a hand, unless in the sense that the term is similar (as when one speaks of a hand made of stone), but the thing itself will be defective. Everything is defined by its task and its power, and if it is no longer the same in these respects it should not be spoken of in the same way, but only as something similarly termed. That the city is both by nature and prior to each individual, then is clear. For, if the individual when separated [from it] is not self-sufficient, he will be in a condition similar to that of the other parts in relation to the whole. One who is incapable of participating or who in need of nothing through being self-sufficient is no part of a city, and so is either a beast or a god (36-37).

This Aristotelian notion of partnership was still clearly embedded and manifest in intellectual thought in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was

thought that members of the civic body were not self-sufficient without each other because they must draw on each other's strengths to live well. This partnership is sustained by acceptance of the same Christian civic norms as the foundational order for society. In this new order, health is determined by fulfilling one's newly acquired social role, according to God's design. To complete one's social role is to thus maintain God's hierarchy to the best of one's ability using capabilities granted to each type of person.

This hierarchy and one's social role in it were based on notions of corporal imbalances corresponding with the regions where one was born. Just as the master from the Mediterranean basin is best fit to rule because of his temperate nature, non-Christians from distant lands were best fit to be ruled. In the quote below, Huarte explains that because of the environmental influences on kinds of people's bodies, they will think and act in certain ways:

Pero la calidad con que se halla mejor el ánima racional es la frialdad del cuerpo. Eso se probará claramente discurrendo por todas las edades del hombre: puericia, adolescencia, juventud, edad perfecta y vejez; donde hallaremos que, por tener cada edad su particular temperamento, en unas es vicioso y en otras virtuoso... la puericia no es más que un temperamento caliente y húmido, en el cual (dice Platón) está el ánima racional ahogada, sin poder usar de su entendimiento y voluntad y libre albedrío, hasta que con el discurso del tiempo pasa a otra edad y adquiere nuevo temperamento... Platón comienza a instruir a un niño desde el primer año, aunque no sepa hablar, enseñando al ama que lo cría cómo le entenderá (por el llorar, reír y callar) sus virtudes y vicios, y cómo se los corregirá ([Ed. 1594] 69).

But the quality that creates the most rational soul is coolness of the body. This is clearly proven passing through all the ages of man: boyhood, adolescence, youth, perfect age and old age; where we will find that, for each age having its particular temperament, in some it is vicious and in others virtuous... boyhood is no more than a hot and humid temperament, in which (Plato says) [that] the rational soul is

drowned, without being able to use its understanding and volition and free will, until with the passing of time he enters to another age and acquires a new temperament. Plato begins to instruct a child from the first year even though he does not know how to speak, teaching to the servant who cares for him how he ought to understand his virtues and vices (through crying, laughter, and silence), and how he will correct them.

In other words, those with more exposure to temperate climates would need to be present to teach those from warmer and humid climates because they would react as if they were children. Castilians, thus, were legitimately able to reign over newly encountered peoples from torrid zones because they were more prone to act in response to bodily desires rather than spiritual and intellectual reasons. In this way, not only would a person be sick but so too would their society. Nonetheless, this diseased condition could be healed.

Over time, humanity was acquired by non-Christians through the apprehension of the Word of God. Once converted and established among Christians, new believers shared in solidarity with them through faith. Language then was a central mechanism by which to evaluate how well new members of the civic body comprehended, professed, and followed the faith. By listening and observing, one could also ascertain how their weaknesses and their strengths could be used to serve the crown, and therefore God.

In this sense, the divine and social hierarchy upon which the Christian social body is founded is also an economic system. Wey Gómez explains this notion of the world as a social body being made up of parts, which functions like a machine:

The use of the term *machina mundi* varied, of course, across arguments in the many centuries after it was coined. But in the geographical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth century... the

term consistently denoted the Christian cosmos as a working artifact in which celestial bodies- God's intermediaries- regulated motion and change in the elements and their compounds. And in this world-machine, every physical body occupied a place according to its nature... 'No sooner would a body be without a place, than the machine of the world [could] be destroyed,' (Wey Gómez 95).

All peoples and lands are included in this machine, even those who have yet to learn of the existence of Christ. Such social roles are determined by God in his design of the universe. In this way, the natural hierarchy of the universe is providential. For this reason though, the legal forms of interaction based on this hierarchy did not necessarily provide room for social mobility.

Peoples of certain natures were determined to be most fit to complete specific tasks based on their natures or places of origin. All people were diseased and distempered. As a result, one's illness was that which lead one to sin. Nevertheless, non-Christians could accept Catholic faith. By using their free will, they could overcome their sinful natures and reject their previously diseased conditions and behaviors. In his treatise, Huarte explains that there is no condition that a faithful man cannot overcome through free will and God's healing. For example,

Dije *ordinariamente*, porque muchos hombres tienen el ánima llena de virtudes perfectas y en los miembros del cuerpo no tienen temperamento que les ayuda a hacer lo que el ánima quiere, y con todo eso, por tener libre albedrío, obran muy bien aunque con gran lucha y contienda... ([Ed. 1594] 62).

I said *ordinarily*, because many men have the soul full of perfect virtues and in the members of the body they don't have temperament that helps them to do what the soul wants, and with all of that, through having free will, they do good Works even though with great struggle and contest.

Here is yet another example from Huarte.

...todos los actos de virtud puede el hombre ejercitar sin haber en el cuerpo cómodo temperamento, aunque con mucha dificultad y trabajo, si no son actos de prudencia. Porque, si un hombre salió imprudente de las manos de Naturaleza, sólo Dios lo puede remediar. Y lo mismo se entiende de la justicia distributiva y de todas las artes y ciencias que aprenden los hombres ([Ed. 1594] 73).

...all acts of virtue can man execute while having in the body comfortable temperament, although with much difficulty and work, if they are not acts of prudence. Because, if a man came imprudently from the hands of Nature, only God can heal him. And the same is understood of distributive justice and of all arts and sciences that men learn.

According to Huarte, even a man predisposed to diseased and sinful acts can choose to be healed. However, such healing can only occur with the help of God. A man had to overcome sin by following Christian teachings. In this way, new Christians could be continually healed of their weaknesses by constantly relying on their free will and faith. However, their bodily construction would remain the same. Also, the natural hierarchy would not change. Those from the temperate corridor would remain at its apex.

Narrative and the Civic Body

With the arrival of Columbus to the New World, ethnological information about new peoples was written into European conceptual frameworks. This information was used to legitimize the imposition of a social hierarchy with Castile at the top. Moreover, it was by virtue of being conquered that specific kinds of peoples were given a place in the triumphant history of Castile. New peoples from distant lands were described using processes of textual dissection, identification, and reorganization.¹² By placing newly encountered phenomena into accepted conceptual

¹² One can compare the process of gathering ethnological information to the dissection of a cadaver and the writing of an autopsy. Just as an anatomist envisages mastery over the parts of the body to

frameworks, their place in the natural hierarchy could easily be identified. In this way, , verisimilitude was able to be used as a predictive tool. One could anticipate how to interact and understand new phenomena based on what had already happened. These comparisons were made not only to comprehend a thing but more importantly to apprehend it within the narrative of Castile's providential reign.

Knowledge about places, peoples, and events were organized in historical narrative to reinforce the superiority of Castile's rule. In such narratives, the boundaries between veracity and verisimilitude were unclear as events were no longer directly linked to historical moments. Instead, they referenced existing descriptions and likened moments to previous events. Moreover, these descriptions were no longer in their original sequence but transplanted into a new order that would cement an image of the monarch's authority. For example, authors would include a particular event in their narrative to reinforce the monarchy's rule. To do so, the event could be placed anywhere in the new narrative. The author's primary focus was no longer the original chronology of actual events. Instead, a new timeline was pieced together, in which the meaning of an event's placement in the narrative was more important than the significance of the original sequence. The new order was used to reaffirm the vision of a providential rise the Castilian crown to power. Through this process of narrative reconstruction, non-Christians' disordered differences were healed as they were identified and then rearticulated into Christian history. Because of this newly

make a whole, so too does the history-writer practitioner use text to impose control over differences about previously unknown places and populations and make them comprehensible. "In the same way, the anatomist projects onto the anatomized object a corporeal unity, creating the illusory prospect of epistemological mastery," (595). Control of differences or their eradication was done by collecting the particulars of specific encounters and establishing a likeness between them and already familiar and accepted images. New phenomena were observed and then a relationship was established between them and previously known information.

imposed order of space and time, historical events were given a new meaning and these people provided with Christian ways to act in order to flourish in the future.

In this way, San José, like Pinciano, described how historical narratives took on a medicinal power. In his treatise, San José personifies history. For San José, history has divine healing capabilities, can restore the perishable, and gives eternal life:

Ella renueva lo Viejo, acuerda lo olvidado, resucita lo difunto y, con una casi divina virtud, restituye a las cosas su Antigua forma y ser, dándoles otro modo de vida no ya perecedera, sino inmortal y perdurable (232).

She renews the Old, remembers the forgotten, resuscitates the dead and, with an almost divine virtue, restores things to their Ancient form and being, giving them another form of life that will not perish, rather immortal and everlasting.

San José links historical narrative to the construction of a body through poetics; the body was studied using rhetorical construction during dissection and autopsy. Similarly, history itself was like a social and historical body. It came to life, being fed with the pasts of new lands and peoples. These peoples, in turn, gained their new life through acceptance and apprehension of Christian rule.

Productions of texts proposing notions of a unified and homogenous Castilian imperial identity were thus made through intertwining historical and epic representation. By writing defeated differences into the past, Spain could legitimize its present authority, and create a foundation for future its governance by following these same ideals. Pinciano explained this role of narrative through the analogy of a living being:

F[adrique] rogó a Vgo prosiguiese, y Vgo comenzó assí: “Repetir co[n]uiene otra vez la definición de la cosa para mejor sacar las

diferencias della. Fue, pues, definido el poema diciendo que ‘era imitación en lenguaje’, la qual definición es dada por el género y materia sujeta, como quando dezimos que la tranquilidad es llanura del mar. Supuesto lo qual, digo que los poemas toman sus difere[n]cias de la diuersidad del género, que es la imitación; y que el poema es vn compuesto de alma y cuerpo. Assí que la imitación o la fábula, que todo es vno, es la ánima, y el lenguaje, el cuerpo.” (1:238).

F[adrique] pleaded with Ugo that he continue, and Ugo began like this: ‘To repeat the definition of the thing again suits us in order to better understand the differences from it. It was, thus, defined the poem saying that ‘imitation was in language’, that which definition is given by the genre and subject material, as when we say that tranquility is smoothness of the sea. Supposed that which, I say that poems take their differences of the diversity of genre, which is imitation; and that the poem is composed of soul and body. In this way imitation and fable, which is all one, is soul, and language, the body,’ (my translation).

In Pinciano’s quote, a new body of poetic history was made from selected particulars of the past. The present was fashioned from reconstructing what had been in a new way. Thus, language or the body of Castile’s historical narrative was not in itself original. Rather, the process of imitation or the way the events were combined was what made it different and better than its enemies. In this way, histories of different peoples were combined and would appear as coherent, end-directed stories of Castile’s reign. In these narratives, the victors of conquest would be framed as having the power to unify disparate peoples from distant lands. The laws that governed its representation and the force behind them substantiated the legitimacy of written events and Castilian rule.

Loss was attributed to the fact that a people had not followed the same laws as the victors; such as those of representation, faith, and interaction amongst each other. One critic, David Quint explains that often in epic poetry, throughout history, losers of conquest have continually represented as powerless to shape their own ends (9,

27). Rolena Adorno writes of the feminized portrayal of Indian figures in colonial narrative as they are incapable of withstanding conquest from the Spanish in “El sujeto colonial y la construcción cultural de la alteridad.” In other words, defeated peoples were conceptualized as diseased and therefore in need of curing because of their different social structure, which could not withstand Christian strengths. Differing socio-political ideals were represented as threats. Posing as a threat legitimized conquering and making their customs part of the past. Hence, as being non-Christian was not necessarily a thing of the past, its association with certain behaviors, such as sacrifice or idol worship, was linked to the past. As a result, along with physical conquest, non-Christian customs were inscribed into the past as a way to combat this disease.

Historical narratives offered a guide to victory through enacting Christian codes of conduct. New members of the Christian civic body learned of Castilian history through the resemantization of their own past. Secondary to this resemantization was apprehension of such poetic devices that carried within them Catholic and Christian notions of movement through space and time.

In the development of historical narratives, similar to a person, there was a process of growing parts as well as aging. Similarly, peoples of different nations were conquered and became members of the integrity of the civic body. Much like food was consumed for the physical body, so too were new people’s differences consumed as a means to maintain a continued Castilian authority over the present. If other peoples were not consumed, then Castile’s own history as a victor would halt.

Always on the verge of extinction, this order was sustained through continual re-articulation of other people's pasts into the history of a Christian social body.

In this sense, the re-making of such pasts provided a path to a victorious future for the Castilian monarchy. Political unification of various kingdoms under the yoke of the Catholic Kings' rule was paralleled by the institutionalization of rhetorical practices. For humanist Antonio de Nebrija, these rhetorical practices would have been learned through the instruction of Latin grammar and literature. For him, Latin was the discipline from which all others would have been perfected. Barbarmism and incivility could only be avoided through studying the language. With it, one would learn the liberal arts and reinforce knowledge civil laws (Francisco Rico, *Nebrija* 22-23). For him, there was a parallel between the trajectory of the study of Latin and Castilian. Nebrija wrote *Gramática de la lengua castellana* at the behest of Cardenal Cisneros, and it was presented as a gift to Queen Isabel in 1492. In it, we find Nebrija's famous phrase,

...siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio i de tal manera lo siguió que junta mente començaron, crecieron i florecieron, i después junta fue la caída de entreambos (*Gramática* 5-6).

language was always a companion of the empire and in this manner it followed that together they began, grew and flourished, and after together was the fall of the two.

Nebrija here has explained that language was not merely a friend of the empire, but rather, it was the empire. Language provided in all forms of communication amongst its members a way to grow and flourish.

The laws that governed how to present events also governed how to conceptualize oneself as well as space and time. Hence, just as in Latin, to speak

Castilian served as a way to reinforce living within the bounds of accepted laws. In contrast, corruption of languages had provoked the fall of previously great civilizations. As Carmen Benito-Vessels interprets of Nebrija's text, how to speak was not only indicative of how to be Castilian, it was also what was and what would be Castile (*Heterodoxa*, 141-145). Francisco Rico writes of Nebrija's perspective on Latin, "...sanar el latín para sanar los saberes, hacer los *eloquentia* (gramática, retórica, filología) núcleo de toda cultura," (24). "...cure Latin in order to cure the faculties, make *eloquentia* (grammar, rhetoric, philology) nucleus of all culture." In other words, correct grammar would lead to correct knowledge, and this could be done by making grammar, rhetoric, and philology central to the education of society.

Clearly not all subjects spoke Castilian. Nebrija would refer to the process of unification of the different kingdoms in Iberia into what had become Castile because of their Christian faith. After peace, the arts again flourished. Christianity and support of the crown were the two causes that led to peace and political unification. Hence, rather than Castilian, the Word of God became the unifying language of the monarchy. He wrote,

En la fortuna y buena dicha de la cual los miembros y pedaços de España que estauan por muchas partes derramados: se reduxeron y aiuntaron en un cuerpo y unidad de reino. La forma y travazón del cual assí está ordenada que muchos siglos. iniuria y tiempos no la podrán romper ni desatar. Assí que después de repurgada la cristiana religión: por la cual somos amigos de Dios o reconciliados con él. Después de los enemigos de nuestra fe vencidos por guerra y fuerça de armas: de donde los nuestros recebían tantos daños: y temían mucho maiores: después de la justicia y essecución de las leies: que nos aiuntan y hazen bivar igual mente en esta gran compañía que llamamos reino y república de Castilla: no queda ia otra cosa sino que florezcan las artes de la paz.

In fortune and good speech of which members and pieces of Spain that were in many parts spilled: they reduced and adjoined in a body and united in a kingdom. The form and connection of which it is ordered for many centuries, injury nor time will be able to break or undo. Thus after the Christian religion repurified: through which we are friends of God or reconciled to him. After the enemies of our faith conquered by war and force of arms: from where ours received so many pains: and feared much worse: after justice and execution of laws: that unite us and make us live equally in this great company that we call kingdom and republic of Castilla: nothing remains but that the arts of peace flourish.

In turn, this would imply the implementation of a corresponding code of behaviors that supported their regime. Knowledge of Castilian could only solidify this sort of Christian solidarity under the Catholic Kings' rule.

In this way, speech has both legal and religious implications because one's actions spoke for them. In the same way, because Christianity was law, to profess faith meant one must support his beliefs by carrying out of Christian actions. If one could not speak Castilian, one could act Christian and still support the crown.

Being a good speaker did not necessarily correspond with being a good man.

As a result, within speech there existed a threat to the socio-political order:

...el buen orador como un hombre honesto y moralmente responsable (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*) pero el estudio de la retórica le permite al individuo llegar a ser un *dicendi peritus* independientemente de que tal individuo sea *vir bonus* o no; si alguien no es *vir bonus*, la retórica no conseguirá hacer que lo sea aunque sí puede fingirlo. En este sentido la retórica es un peligroso recurso verbal; de ahí que los moralistas intentaran controlarla desde siempre (Benito-Vessels, *Heterodoxa* 90).

... the good orator like an honest man and morally responsible (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*) but the study of rhetoric permits the individual to become a *dicendi peritus* independently of whether an individual is a *vir bonus* or not; if someone is not a *vir bonus*, rhetoric will not be able to make him one even though he can feign it. In this sense, rhetoric is a dangerous verbal resource; [because] of this the moralists have always tried to control it.

The threat of language was due to the possibility of the separation between words and their meaning. One could profess their faith and loyalty to the crown, and yet not fulfill their obligations.

In fact, because words had metaphoric capacity, one could use the same words to construct multiple realities using authorized rhetorical techniques. On the one hand, linguistic tools were being used in the solidification of monarchical power. In this case, determinable sets of meanings of words were supposed to be its foundation for political authority. On the other hand, this political authority provided the foundational framework with which to build a community. It also provided a delimitation of meanings for comprehensibility amongst various groups of people united under the Castilian monarchy. As Aristotle explained,

But speech serves to reveal the advantageous and the harmful, and hence also the just and the unjust... For the whole must of necessity be prior to the part; for if the whole [body] is destroyed, there will not be a foot or a hand, unless in the sense that the term is similar (as when one speaks of a hand made of stone), but the thing itself will be defective. Everything is defined by its task and its power, and if it is no longer the same in these respects, it should not be spoken of in the same way, but only as something similarly termed (37).

Narrative was constructed not merely by placing words together but by following rules of organization, in order to build a corpus. In the same way that poetics must be followed for correct speech, so too were religious practices to be followed in speaking the Word of God. Not following authorized rhetorical practices would impede meaning and thereby disrupt order in the social body. Without the parts of speech, notions of what constituted a body and its ability to interact with those around them would morph. Similarly, comprehension of Christian codes of conduct was supposed to serve as guiding principles for society. Without them, society would fall ill.

Moreover, the overall construction of narratives could no longer provide cautionary tales about socially acceptable practices without linguistic order. Likewise without following the Word of God, life within the civic body as well as its governing body would be threatened.

Besides a historical tool, language was considered a basis for exchange among peoples. In this way, Christian teachings demarcated the boundaries of the civic body. The meanings of words extended to the conceptual borders of this partnership amongst its members. For this reason, the professing of faith would suppose acceptance and affirmation of Castilian and Catholic political order. According to Aristotle, language was the basis of a civic partnership, in which all work together for the well-being of the social body.

The partnership arising from [the union of] several villages that is complete is the city. It reaches a level of full self-sufficiency, so to speak; and while coming into being for the sake of living, it exists for the sake of living well (37)

In other words, members of the civic body worked together to maintain the well-being of each other. Its integrity was maintained by following accepted codes of conduct implicit in the notions of movement through space and time manifest in language. Codes of conduct implicit in Castilian were to be reinforced by teachings from the Catholic Church. To be a member of the civic body was to follow accepted norms of space and time as well as to practice Christianity.

Within Ferdinand and Isabel's emerging empire, apprehension of the Castilian language was to be accompanied by the apprehension of their Christian laws and customs and the understanding and acceptance of their sovereignty, as vicars of Christ. Catholicism served as the underlying framework for conceptualization of

language and shared meaning, but also for the socio-political hierarchy that grounded both.

The Castilian monarchy reigned over many kingdoms in and outside the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, language was an insufficient mechanism for uniting peoples. Rather the acceptance of Catholic faith gave words meaning and determined people's places in natural hierarchy, while placing Ferdinand and Isabel at the apex. Because of many languages and variants existing within the emerging empire, knowledge of Castilian could not have been used to determine whether or not groups of peoples were under the monarchy's rule. Moreover, the vast majority of the emerging empire was outside of the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason, the Catholic faith, or the Word of God, became the language that united disparate peoples from different parts of the globe under the monarchy.

However, at the turn of the fifteenth century, Muslims and Jews lived within and comprised a large portion of the population of the Iberian Peninsula and spoke Castilian as well. Dissimilarity existed within the social body because of differences in religious beliefs about the underlying framework that constituted reality. Hence these non-Christian people speaking the same Castilian language did not necessarily recognize the same socio-political hierarchy or the same codes of conduct as acceptable. Due to the presence of multiple religious faiths within the civic body, there could be no homogenous conceptualization of the universe or political leadership. The same religious and political principles were not shared. Multiple meanings, multiple forms of being, and many social bodies existed instead of one.

Through shared acceptance of Catholicism, religion provided a foundation upon which to place the monarchy's authority and the signification of words. In this sense, behaviors would correspond with the same religious and political principles that underwrote the meaning of one's words. Proper speaking was to be reflected in actions. Nebrija connected Catholic faith, laws of Castilian rule, and Castilian language as three necessary components of maintaining the civic body's integrity:

... que, después que Vuestra Alteza metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos barbaros i naciones de peregrinas lenguas, i conel vencimiento aquellos ternian necesidad de recibir las leies quel vencedor pone al vencido i con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces por esta mi *Arte* podrían venir enel conocimiento della, como agora nos otros dependemos el arte dela gramatica latina para deprender el latín. I cierto assi es que no sola mente los enemigos de nuestra fe que tienen la necesidad de saber el lenguaje castellano, mas los viscaínos, navarros, franceses, italianos i todos los otros que tienen algun trato i conversación den España i necesidad de nuestra lengua... (Nebrija 11).

... that, after Your Highness puts under her yolk many barbarian villages and nations of foreign languages, and with the vanquishing of those they would have the need to receive the laws that the victory puts upon the vanquished and with them our tongue, then through this my *Art* they could come into the knowledge of it, like now we make use of the art of the Latin grammar in order to learn Latin. And true it is thus that not only the enemies of our faith that have need of knowing the Castilian language, [but] more the Biscayans, the Navarrans, the French, the Italians and all of those others that have any treatment and conversation of/in Spain and necessity of our tongue (my translation).

Once conquered, barbarians, or those who do not speak Castilian, would learn the laws and codes of conduct by which to live. As the legal and religious foundations were laid after conquest, new peoples would be brought into the community, being united in faith and law. Catholicism and Castilian were both used to reinforce the socio-political hierarchy, which included allegiance to the monarch and was supposed to be demonstrated first through acceptance of one's faith and social role.

Nonetheless, the use of the Castilian language could not necessarily be equated with the belief in Catholicism. As discussed earlier, being a member of the civic body did not pertain to being from a geographical location; rather, being Castilian meant accepting the monarchy's authority as both political and religious leaders. The Castilian language could be used and Catholicism practiced regardless of recognition of Ferdinand and Isabel's authority. This ambiguity destabilized the order that was supposed to unite the civic body due to the various ways of interpreting words, meanings, and behaviors. The inability to fix a meaning to a word could be used as a form of camouflage. One who did not accept the Catholic monarchy's authority could dress or speak as a member of the civic body without being perceived. Suspicions and heightened hostilities were felt heavily by those newly converted from Jewish and Muslim faiths. This was due to their plurilingual existence, which could have led to the corruption of Castilian laws, Catholic faith, and faltering loyalty to the crown. The monarchy would institutionalize the Inquisition in 1478 to combat this complex dynamic and establish religious orthodoxy. It would remain until the eighteenth century.

In the following chapter, I explore the conceptual bounds of the Spanish civic body at the turn of the fifteenth century. I analyze the novel *Las Sergas de Esplandián* by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo as a propagandistic text used to promote conquest in the New World. I investigate how Montalvo established an ontological connection between non-Christians who lived in Granada, northern Africa, and the invading Ottoman Empire and previously unknown peoples in the Indies through verisimilitude and medical theory. I study how people are represented as products of

their environments. I also investigate how their diseased conditions present themselves both physically and spiritually and cause newly encountered peoples to be perceived as threats to the Christian social body.

I also establish how language is used as a diagnostic tool for health. On the one hand, newly conquered peoples were able to convert to Christianity or face death. On the other hand, only those who had sincere conversions were saved from their physical tribulations. He who waged war against non-Christians was a history-writer practitioner, who was guaranteed physical and spiritual salvation as well as victory because of his belief in God. Furthermore, he had the power to heal and bring any and all diseased and sinful peoples into the Christian social body. However, I demonstrate how this linguistic conversion is a violent form of dissection, textual identification, and reorganization. Rather than healing, in this form of providential history, the intent is to either cause the physical death of a non-believer or the cultural death of the convert, who would have to leave his diseased self in the past.

Chapter 2: Medical Discourse and Chivalry as Predictive Mechanisms in *Las Sergas de Esplandián* by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo

Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, a soldier and intellectual in the Isabeline court, began to and completed the series of books containing the story of Amadís de Gaula and Esplandián, during the years of 1482-1504. During this time, Montalvo participated in the War of Granada and witnessed Ferdinand and Isabel's rise to power. The earliest known surviving manuscript of Montalvo's chivalric novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, is from 1508 (Sainz de la Maza 9). In this text, Montalvo

makes use of his experience in the Reconquest of Granada in order to reaffirm the Catholic Kings' political authority within the Iberian Peninsula, as well as to provide a model for future crusades in the New World.

According to critic Susan Giráldez, when Isabel and Ferdinand took the throne, there was a dramatic shift in the way in which chivalric novels would be written. The shift occurred for pragmatic reasons as Isabeline intellectuals used narrative to advance the monarchy's political goals. Giráldez writes of *Esplandián*,

Tiene como propósito el desarrollo de un nuevo estilo de vida caballeresca que se compagine con la nueva época. Se trata específicamente de la elaboración de un modelo para la empresa colectiva de los Reyes Católicos. La petición de Esplandián a los caballeros de la Gran Bretaña que abandonen la búsqueda de la gloria personal para unirse contra los paganos refleja la exigencia de los Reyes Católicos que la nobleza renuncie sus peleas internas para aliarse contra los musulmanes (17-18).

It has its purpose the development of a new style of chivalric life that adjusts to the new times. It deals specifically with the elaboration of a model for the collective enterprise of the Catholic Kings. The petition of Esplandian to the knights of Great Britain that they abandon their search for personal glory to unite against pagans reflects the expectation of the Catholic Kings that the nobility renounce their internal disputes to unite against Muslims.

Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce's findings support Giráldez's argument. In his investigations, he suggests that *Esplandián's* makings began long before. In fact, Montalvo constructed a new ending to a previously existing manuscript containing the story of Amadís de Gaula. In the older version, Esplandián kills his father Amadís, and the son's devastated mother, Oriana, takes her life (Cuesta Torre 53). In the new ending, Amadís does not die but is defeated by his son and "divested" of his authority. By this, traditional knight-errantry, in which battle is waged to gain personal honor, riches, and love, is devalued.

Instead, in *Esplandián*, emphasis is placed on a code of chivalric conduct that entails warring on non-Christians as a service to the crown. In the story, the protagonist proves himself to be best fit to rule over Christendom through his just deeds. Esplandián carries out chivalric service to God and therefore becomes emperor of Constantinople by divine providence. The Christian monarchy in the novel is the embodiment of Christ, and the reign of God is to be brought about through the expansion of their political authority and recovery of the Holy Land. In the text, Esplandián is a fictitious representation of Ferdinand, and as such, his actions can be understood as representing those that the King would carry out. Therefore, Ferdinand and Isabel's own political authority is reaffirmed within the Iberian Peninsula through the use of narrative representation of conquest over non-Christian peoples.

The Catholic Kings employed narrative representation to legitimize their sovereignty over newly explored lands and encountered peoples. An amalgam of Aristotelian conceptions of barbarians, classical medical theory, and Christian notions of just war are manifest in the constructions of characters in the novel. As a predictive tool, the text provided those who traveled to new lands and encountered new peoples with a mechanism by which to anticipate who and what they would find. In this way, explorers would know when it was licit to make war upon pagans and infidels, based upon the examples of non-Christian characters that are made to submit to Christian rule. Authors would have created works that enacted long-standing sets of canon law, Greek and Roman philosophy, and patristic discourse of the Catholic Church. In this chapter, I address how the chivalric trope of making war upon non-

Christians in return for spiritual and earthly rewards is used in narrative representation for conquest and expansion. I investigate how non-Christians in *Esplandián* are constructed as diseased by using geohumoral notions to reaffirm the Mediterranean Christians' right to rule over those of less temperate lands.

In Montalvo's *Esplandián*, characters are constructed based on notions of how environment influences the temperament of the body, mind, and soul. Linked to their place of origin, non-Christians from distant lands are represented as inferior while Christians from the Mediterranean are represented as most tempered to rule. These medical and theological notions are the basis for resolving conflicts between the varying arguments of just war against peoples defined as *extra ecclesiam* from the early Middle Ages. In this way, textual depictions involving chivalric and Christian culture were not only influential but constitutive of interactions between peoples, Christian and non-Christian, in the establishment of colonial societies in the sixteenth century (Adorno, *Polemics* 4).

Jennifer Goodman and Rolena Adorno have acknowledged the influence of preexisting cultural expectations upon the narrative productions about the New World. Adorno writes: "... the Hispanic colonial subject produces a discourse that represents the values of a chivalric and Christian culture..." (*Sujeto Colonial*, 155).¹³ While Montalvo is not a colonial subject in the sense that he did not live in the Indies, the existence of this new part of the globe and the question of how to govern its peoples is clearly manifest within the text.

¹³ Goodman and Adorno are the two most recent and complete texts on the subject. However, for a more information on the initial discussion of how *novelas de caballería* influenced the actions of conquistadors in the New World, see Irving A. Leonard. *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Berkley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992.

Such chivalric texts were considered problematic by various humanists, including Juan Luis Vives, a Spanish intellectual, who critiqued such tales as means to lead female readers to transgress. Yet, the wider audience pertained to young gentlemen, thereby playing a fundamental role in the ‘civilizing process’ of conquest in the New World (Goodman 9). As a result, fiction crossed over to reality based on its use to get, “people to think in particular ways about particular issues of political philosophy and history,” (Adorno, *Warrior* 225).

The familiar construct of the chivalric novel provided a hierarchy that served as a means by which to make comprehensible how the radical differences of non-Christians justified their subjugation. Nevertheless, the use of pacific or violent means for such subjugation was up for debate. Based upon the examination of several different characters within *Esplandián*, one can see how narrative construction of non-Christian peoples could be used to make warring upon them seem not merely licit but also beneficial for these peoples. Such actions done in the name of God and crown were supported by the social body and by canonical law. Moreover, these actions were also supposed to be rewarded with earthly and spiritual gains, provided by the crown and by God.

On the one hand, readers were provided with expansionary method of obtaining power and wealth in both the earthly and spiritual spheres. On the other hand, the Christians were also reminded of the need for protection from possible future attacks by non-Christians. The novel tells the story of a band of Christian knights waging war to protect Constantinople from a siege by non-Christians; thereby referring to the actual fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. This was done in

order to reaffirm the importance of holy war to recuperate lost lands and acquire future ones. Non-Christians of previously unknown lands could arguably be violent and plausibly plan an attack against Christians or they may be easily influenced to do so. Thus, what was the crown to do about the non-Christian inhabitants of the Canary Islands and the Americas? What if the Canary islanders and inhabitants of the New World were to band together with Moslems of Northern Africa or the Ottomans to attack the rest of Christian Europe? Something had to be done, but by whom: the pope or a Christian prince? Could pacific evangelization protect Christian Europe from future attacks or was violent subjugation necessary?

Much earlier, policy on non-Christians had developed around three groups: the Saracens, Jews, and infidels. In the 11th century, Turks had taken control of Jerusalem and prevented missionaries from entering. Pope Urban II (b.1042-d.1099) called upon Christian emperor Alexis of the Eastern Roman empire to launch the First of many crusades, proclaiming salvation through taking up arms (Muldoon 58, 132). In the writings of the French abbot and reformer of the Cistercian order, Bernard of Clairvaux (b.1090- d.1153) clarified how papal jurisdiction was a double edged sword with the pope having authority from Peter, with temporal authority granted to secular rulers (Muldoon 14-15). The pope could only act indirectly. However, papist supporters agreed that the pope had ultimate authority in both realms.

Nevertheless, the belief that pagans had no right to *dominium* by virtue of Christ's coming was deemed too extreme (Muldoon 23). By the time the Canary Islands were discovered, it was commonly accepted that pagans did have the right to lordship and property, and the pope could not intervene in non-Christian realms

unless their secular rulers failed to punish subjects for crimes against natural law (15).

James Muldoon writes,

The papal claim to universal responsibility for the souls of men, the claims of various Christian rulers to lands occupied by infidels, and the legal opinion that infidels possessed dominium formed three parts of an equation that needed resolving... secular rulers and their legal advisors were quite capable of developing new justifications for overseas conquests that would fall within the categories of just conquest that the lawyers had already created. The existence of a primitive way of life among the Canarians would justify their conquest so that they might be raised to a civilized one to prepare them for the message of the gospel. The fierce nature of such people would obviously justify the use of Christian armies for the protection of the missionaries eventually sent to preach to them (129).

Otherwise, only within Christian lands were non-Christians to be held accountable for questions of ecclesiastical crimes pertaining to perversion of natural law (Muldoon 15, 24). Thus, it was not because of spiritual deviance, but because of sinful behaviors that non-Christians could legitimately be warred upon in order to protect other Christians, who would preach to them.

The question of jurisdiction over non-Christians is relative to our discussion of *Esplandián* and whether or not the pope or an emperor had the right to intervene in non-Christian lands. Based on papist claims, the pope could call on a Christian prince to help protect Christians and wage defensive war. However, in the novel the dualist stance is utilized. *Esplandián* engages the non-Christians in a defensive war.

Because Ferdinand had legitimate claims to the throne of Constantinople through familial relations, he could therefore declare just war upon infidels occupying Constantinople and the Canaries because they had usurped the land.¹⁴ Ferdinand, like

¹⁴ Ferdinand could wage war on non-Christians occupying Constantinople based on his familial ties. The Castilian monarchy would claim that they had legitimate claims to the Canary Islands because of

Esplandián, as a Christian prince, was called upon to rescue Constantinople, the Canaries, and any other infidel lands, whose inhabitants could join with violent non-Christians to attack Christendom, by acting as the arm of God. Thus, the story is used to reaffirm that the Catholic Kings could wage just war with or without the pope's authorization.

So it was that expansion by secular rulers happened regardless of the pope's technical jurisdiction over the salvation of men's souls. As Muldoon explains, without the ability to impede imperial expansion, the Vatican could only align itself with monarchical interests. In this way, the pope did maintain, if only nominally, a shaping voice within the debate about how to bring all men the Gospels and how Christian societies were to be established in the New World (130).

It seems that the Vatican recognized its own limitations in enforcing its authority over both spiritual and temporal realms. In doing so, both Portugal and Spain utilized their relationships with the Church to influence the possibility of being granted greater jurisdictions over new lands to be explored. There was difficulty in maintaining unambiguous demarcation of where one rival's authority ended and another's began. The Treaty of Alcaçovas in 1479 not only cleared the way for Ferdinand and Isabel's rise to power, but it also established precedence for future understandings as to where Portuguese and Spanish explorers could lay claim to newly discovered areas. Because the Canaries were legitimately under Castilian rule

their Visigoth inheritance. Because African Tingatania belonged to the Visigoths of Hispania, the monarchy sustained their right to rule over the Canaries. They were awarded jurisdiction by the Pope in 1479 under the Treaty of Alcaçovas. Castile gained the Canaries and Portugal gained the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde Islands, and the Guinea Coast. For more information on the changing of hands of the Canaries (or Fortunate Islands) see Eyda M. Merediz. *Refracted Images: The Canary Islands Through a New World Lens*. Transatlantic Readings. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004.

and the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde as well as the African Coastline under Portuguese rule, Spaniards sailing the Atlantic, particularly Columbus, were expected to chart courses that did not stray beyond the southernmost latitude of the Canaries as to not incite Portuguese ire (Wey Gómez 10).

With the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, the line of demarcation of jurisdiction for exploration between the two rival powers was decided by the pope Alexander VI, initially as 100 leagues, and then changed to 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. A grid was established within which to explore territories. However, even with these theoretical stipulations of the bounds of Castilian and Portuguese authority, cartographical and cosmographical practices had anything but been perfected and were also able to be manipulated.¹⁵ Even with temporal power granted to Castilian monarchs for the exploration of certain unknown lands, whether it was legitimate to deprive the Indians of dominium was of great concern to the crown.

The precedents set by popes from medieval debates about how to establish relationship with infidels and pagans of distant lands would carry directly over into the questions emerging from the New World about the rights of its inhabitants; these along with cartographic, medical, and religious conceptions of the natural hierarchy of the universe. Not purely a thematic but also a rhetorical debate, these notions were combined in narrative representation by transplanting historical particulars to

¹⁵ “It may well have been evident to Columbus and his royal patrons, even before Columbus put out to sea, that King Dom João was poised to interpret the terms of the pact to mean that everything below the parallel to the Canaries belonged to Portugal, not just what extended below the Canaries and toward Atlantic Africa. Setting aside the much debated question of Columbus’s technical competence at establishing accurate latitudes, Columbus’s fear of Portugal’s Atlantic agenda certainly serves to explain his later reluctance to admit that the lands he had discovered on the first voyage- the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola- were anything but directly across from the Canarian archipelago,” (Wey Gomez 10).

fabricate a plausible poetic form of history as a predictive device during conquest. Yet, the natural hierarchy created and reified by this combination of beliefs and forms of verisimilar representation would be destabilized by the incoming new knowledge about the geography, terrain, and peoples of previously unknown lands.

Even within the Old World, and the various kingdoms of Castile and Aragón, the conceptualization of civic body composed of those who used the Castilian language, practiced Catholic faith, and had a unified place of origin, was fragile. As the social body grew outside the bounds of the Iberian Peninsula, inclusion within it depended on one's observance of Catholic Law. Credibility, rather than just a nominal conversion, was at the heart of suspicions raised against converts as well as newly encountered non-Christians. Eyda Merediz explains how the term infidel became associated with notions of being deceitful:

The term *infidelis* in Christian Latin had shifted meaning from 'untrustworthy' (as in Classical Latin) to 'unbelieving'; this is what the Muslim Arabic notion of *Kafir* ('infidel') itself got calqued on in late antiquity (*EP*, 4:407-9), giving rise to the Western Latin medieval reverse notion of 'infidel,' (9).

To reject Christ was to also be incredulous and lawless. Even with the act of conversion, the notion of criminality and distrust became the burden of New Christians. By accepting the Word of God, converts had chosen to formally renounce their diseased beliefs and behaviors and to be integrated into the healthy Christian social body. However, doubt about the sincerity and strength of converts' convictions existed. Not only was changing of faith pointedly questioned, fear of contact with persons of other religions could be detrimental to successful transformation and salvation. There was no physical boundary between Muslims, Jews, and Christians,

and the frontier between citizens and foreigners was extremely hazy as linguistic barriers were not considered sufficient defense.

As already explored in the first chapter, the importance of historical accurate portrayals of actual peoples was not necessarily central to narrative representations of them. Instead, from historical particulars, poetic histories were elaborated into epics that were not necessarily veridically true but seemingly possible, and therefore believable. The ambiguity of narrative space proved to be beneficial to those who wished to establish their authority first with arms and then to legitimize it afterwards with text. Carmen Benito-Vessels has explored Foucault's notion of heterotopias in Alfonsine historiography, and explains that these are lands that are textually transformed into a literary elsewhere. The elsewhere is,

‘...a kind of effectively enacted upon utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.’ (Foucault quoted in Benito-Vessels, *Heterotopia* 39).

In this fictional space, values are made manifest through their combination and inversion. A battle occurs within such a space in order to reaffirm or to contest the use of these values as cohesive bonds for society.

In *Esplandián*, actions carried out by Christians and Muslims within this elsewhere, are the basis for a people of either faith's right to occupy the land (*Heterotopia*, 34-36). Heterotopias in crisis are,

...lugares privilegiados, sagrados, o prohibidos donde se llevan a cabo actividades críticas, resultando de una ‘crisis’ o que quedan fuera de lo usual... (*Heterotopia*, 39).

...privileged, sacred, or prohibited places where critical activities are carried out, resulting from a ‘crisis’ or that remains out of the normal...

A heterotopia of deviation is a, “lugar como una cárcel, en el que se sitúa a individuos cuya conducta se desvía de la norma socialmente aceptada,” (*Heterotopia*, 39). /

“...place like a prison, in which are situated individuals whose conduct deviates from the accepted social norm.” Modeled upon the War of Granada, in *Esplandián*, both of these types of heterotopias converge in the fictional representation of Constantinople, the head of the Christian empire.

Granada was an actual part of the Christian social body, which the fictional Constantinople in *Esplandián* is based upon. Both are faced with the threat of physical peril and spiritual disease, both physically and spiritually. This threat is due to the presence of those who would not follow the Word of God, and thereby caused the profanation of the land with their sinful actions. The Catholic Kings' victory over Granada was represented as a providential outcome of their forces' chivalric values and actions. Based on this logic, in the text holy war could be carried out with the use of chivalry as its base to recover the fictional Constantinople. The war of Granada served as a model, upon which to base the textual representation of how to recover the Holy Lands. Just as reality served as a literary model, so too was this text a propagandistic tool by which to inspire the actual reconquest of the fallen Constantinople and the Holy Lands as well as those lands encountered in future exploration inhabited by non-Christian peoples.

In *Esplandián*, many of the battles between Christians and non-Christians take place on and near La Montaña Defendida, an unidentified part of the Arabian Peninsula near Constantinople, where both literary and actual space converge. The clashes between Esplandián and his knights and their victories over non-Christians

serve as examples of how to bring about universal Christianity, or a *theosis*, enacting “the process whereby a privileged individual or a privileged place was shown to be an earthly reflection of a divine plan” (Burke 465). In the text, the holy lands and its peoples represent the body of Christ. By conquering the textual space that embodies Jesus and purging it of disease, a new kingdom under Christian rule would reflect providential design and be the initiation of an earthly Kingdom of God; and what has begun in the novel could expand to what Benito-Vessels notes as other potentially infinite things(*Heterotopia*, 38).

Religious and military fervor were used to provide the ideological structure for service to God and to the crown, and participation in worldly political projects under Ferdinand and Isabel would be the execution of divine will on earth. Following in the footsteps of Urban II’s call to military action,

Their eloquence decked the crusade in the guise of a pilgrimage, a ‘seeking of the way of the Lord’ and of remission for sins through hardships endured for His sake. It was, however, a pilgrimage with a difference, ‘a new way’ opening the aesthetic road to salvation to the men in arms. The Church had long been seeking to channel the vigor of such men into activities more pleasing to God than the endless feuding of the nobility (Keen 121).

By following the values of chivalric conduct, which included moral superiority, honor, and good government, those who fought for and with Esplandián could put aside their own search for glory and be assured divine favor and victory by serving the crown. In this way, it is implied from the text that those who served the Castilian monarchy would receive physical and spiritual rewards:

De este modo, los actos del héroe, antes motivados por un ideal puramente mundano de auto-afirmación vienen a servir la empresa colectiva de guerra santa contra los infieles. Este servicio divino y su

premio ultramundano implica la renuncia a los placeres y honores de este mundo (Beysterveldt, 13).

In this way, the acts of the hero, before motivated by a purely mundane ideal of self-affirmation comes to serve the collective business of holy war against the infidels. This divine service and its ultra world prize involves the renouncing of the pleasures and honors of this world.

In *Esplandián*, the secular and individualistic function of medieval knight-errantry is transformed into a collective endeavor that is both political and spiritual in nature.

The transfer of power from father to son, when Esplandián defeats Amadís in battle, is demonstrative of this resemantization in the structure of chivalric conduct. This transformation in meaning is pragmatically developed to aid in bolstering of support for Ferdinand and Isabel's peninsular and imperial projects. The novel,

...se dirige a los estratos dirigentes de la sociedad para responsabilizarlos de la salvación del cuerpo social. Siéntanse aludidos los príncipes y gobernantes, dice el autor: como ministros de Dios en la tierra son ellos los que deben dar ejemplo con su conducta (Sales Dasí 86).

... [it] directs itself to leading strata of society to make them [feel] responsible for the salvation of the social body. They [should] feel alluded to the princes and governors, says the author: like ministers of God on the earth are they those that should give example with their conduct.

Personal honor and glory are secondary to the needs of the monarchy. In this new code of conduct, the dissolution of internal conflict amongst social classes was paramount, especially among the nobility. Emphasis is placed on religious and political unification against pagans and infidels to save the Christian social body from the threat of disease.

As creations of God, both lands and peoples were inherently good, and as a result, could be restored from their diseased and sinful conditions to health. Health

would be obtained through conversion to Christianity. Non-Christians could be integrated into a Christian community that is understood as both a symbolic and actual manifestation of the body of Christ. In becoming like Christians, these former non-believers would need to accept Catholicism as the Law and Ferdinand and Isabel as their rulers. Such religious and social transformations would serve as a basis for establishing a political order with the Catholic Kings as universal monarchs of all those who accepted the faith.

Hence, the basis for communication amongst members of this Christian social body was not the Castilian language. Rather, Christianity was used to give meaning and order to an ever increasing number of lands and peoples. To be a member of the civic body was to live in the service of God through obedience to the crown. Moreover, Catholicism, through its enactment, was also a mechanism by which to combat enemies of both Christianity and the monarchy.

Defeating internal and external threats is done through active propagation of Christianity, to physically and spiritually heal diseased peoples that occupied the Holy Lands. Beyond usurping territories, those who rejected the faith were in essence, polluting the body of Christ. Therefore, waging war upon non-Christians could be understood as an act of defense, the only true cause of just war (Merediz 12).¹⁶ Members of the Christian social body, as *milites Christi*, or soldiers of Christ, could bring about the salvation of non-believers through diffusion of the Word, “via

¹⁶ In 1342, Pope Clement IV rose to power and initiated his project of extending the dominion of the Church. He included the Canary Islands in this, and supported himself using ‘papal pretensions of universal dominion’ and the right to retake land usurped by non-Christians. These medieval pretensions stretch back to St. Augustine, and would continue to be used up into the debates for the rights of the Indians in the New World between Las Casas and Sepúlved. For more on the discussion, see Fredrick H. Russell. *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999. Also see James Muldoon. *Popes, Lawyers, Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World 1250-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.

et veritas et vita”/ “the way, and the truth, and the life” (John 14:6) as well as protect themselves from disease.¹⁷

Based on the notion of *Christus medicus*, life, both earthly and eternal, would be granted to those who received Catholic faith, even if by force. In St. Augustine’s words, ““Thus the wisdom of God, setting out to cure man, applied Himself to cure them, being at once the Physician and the Medicine,”” (*On Christian Doctrine* quoted in Solomon, 25). This restorative capacity of the Word of God would allow for a sinful man to be reintegrated into the social body. This combination of medicine and theology can be understood as *logotherapy*, in which the Word (or Christ) is given to man, embodying both the possibility of health as well as salvation. On the one hand one would learn from Christ’s teachings and be saved eternally. On the other hand, if one made a sincere conversion, they would also be saved from physical danger.

According to Christians, the Word of God could be accepted to receive eternal life. However, the bodies and souls of those who had willfully rejected or never been instructed in the faith were in peril. Submission to Catholic authority included assuming Christian codes of conduct and social hierarchies based on accepted notions of the cosmos and man’s place in them. Those who did not adhere to such principles would incur spiritual and physical punishment. Yet, to accept religious doctrine was to abandon modes of existence, such as different understandings of space and time, that were considered sinful. That is, to be cured was also to be killed.

¹⁷ Translations of the Biblia Sacra Vulgata are from *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate; diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions, in divers languages; The Old Testament first published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609; and The New Testament first published by the English College, at Rheims, A.D. 1582 with annotations, references, and an historical and chronological index*. New York: Edward Dunigan, 1844.

In *Esplandián*, medicinal discourse emerges through the construction of heterotopias, in which the history of the actual war of Granada is juxtaposed with the literary battle for Constantinople in the novel. This battle is used to provide a pragmatic example of how to comprehend and interact with non-Christians encountered in both the Old and New Worlds. The premise of spreading Christianity by using verisimilar descriptions/portrayals of non-believers as diseased is the basis for such battles within the Iberian Peninsula and in foreign lands on both the Eastern and Western imperial fronts. Ontological connections are made between the natures of the characters represented in the text and Muslim communities as well as non-Christians from similar latitudes. Hence, *Esplandián* was able to be used as a predictive tool and also to delimit a political model for the monarchy's interactions in Iberia, Africa, Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, and Rome, all the way to the New World and beyond.

For example, the War of Granada is utilized as a model for construction of the heterotopias in *Esplandián*, which is placed somewhere in the Far East, between Constantinople and Persia on *La Montaña Defendida*. The characteristics of historical non-Christians within Castilian territory are ascribed to non-Christian characters within the text from *La Montaña Defendida*, which is on the same latitudinal parallel. These non-Christian characters were constructed using medical theory and were therefore credible. Their existence and behaviors were plausible because of their verisimilar construction. As studied in the first chapter, ontologically, based on the tripartite system of geography utilized during the early sixteenth century, it was believed the people of the same parallels shared similar

characteristics and natures. Hence, in the characters' constructions, it was to be supposed that all peoples from similar latitudes that were non-Christian could look and behave in the same way as actual non-Christians that had already been encountered. In this way, text would provide a model of how to interact with non-Christians encountered in the future.

Utilizing the tripartite system, characters in *Esplandián* are developed as products of their environments. Moreover, Castilian superiority is reinforced because of its equivalent latitude to Constantinople, the head of the Christian empire, which is also located in the temperate Mediterranean corridor. In the text, Constantinople has not fallen to Ottoman control, but is under siege. Because of Ferdinand's actual familial ties to the monarchs of Constantinople before it fell in reality in 1453, his claim to the throne, if it were to be recaptured by Christians, would be reaffirmed. Not only by family, but by latitude, Castile could be portrayed as having been granted by providential design, universal sovereignty over Constantinople as well as the non-Christians who had invaded it.

In the book, *Esplandián*, son of *Amadís*, is from Great Britain, understood to be above the Septentrion, or the Tropic of Cancer, 23°N from the Equator. For that reason, medical theory could be used to construct him as a defender of the emperors of Constantinople, who would use his disposition to fight against ensuing political and religious threats. In the novel, *Esplandián's* physique is discussed in detail. *Lisuarte*, *Esplandián's* grandfather, cannot recognize him because of the level of combat and physical perfection that surpasses even the strength of *Amadís*:

Lisuarte, que los mirava, comoquier que otras batallas muy bravas oviesse visto y passado por su persona, no le semejó que tal como esta

viera; y fue muy maravillado del cavallero de las armas negras, y no pudo pensar quién sería que con tan gran afrenta y peligro de su persona avía en aquella parte venido. Pues que fuesse Amadís, aquel que en todas sus fortunas y afrentas por reparo y remedio tuvo, no lo pensó: lo uno porque en el talle ni en el altura no le era conforme, y porque como él casado le dexase con la cosa que él más amava, aviendo ganado tanta honra y pasado tanto trabajo, con mucha razón el descanso podía tomar, afloxando y dexando muchas cosas de las que ante que lo fuese procurava; lo otro porque, aunque vido la batalla que Amadís ovo con Dardán el Sobervio en Vindelisora, que mucho afrentado fue, y la que después pasó con Ardán Canileo el Dudado, que fue una de las peligrosas que él nunca viera, las cuales se hizieron de uno por otro, ninguna dellas a esta igualava, ni la fuerça de Amadís con la dese cavallero... por lo que dél vio lo tuvo por el mejor cavallero que armas traxo de los que él viera... (Montalvo 164-165).

Lisuarte, who watched them, however [just] like in any other battles very perilous that he had seen and passed through his person, it did not make sense to him that just how this [one] he saw; and he was very marveled of the knight of the black armor, and he could not think who it could be that with such great affront and danger of his person had there in that part come. Thus if it were Amadís, he that in all his fortunes and affronts for scruples and remedy he had, he did not think it [him]: the one because in the size nor in the height he did correspond, and because he [was] married would leave the thing that he most loved, having won such honor and passed such work, with much reason rest he could take, relaxing and leaving many things of which before he would have sought; the other because, even though seeing the battle that Amadís had with Dardan the Haughty in Vindelisora, the much affronted he was, and that which after happened with Ardán Canileo the Dubious, that was one of the most dangerous that he had ever seen, those which were done one after the other, neither of them to this one equaled, neither the strength of Amadís with that of this knight... for what he of him saw he took for the best knight that of arms brought of [all] those he had seen...

Not only is Esplandián considered braver, but the threats he faces are greater still than some of the greatest battles that Lisuarte saw Amadís fight. The son has surpassed his father in strength. Lisuarte believes him to be the greatest knight he has ever seen.

In this same way, the beauty of Esplandián's physique and strength are also demonstrated by the reaction of Carmela, the daughter of the Hermit, who first

encounters Esplandián in *La Montaña Defendida* and houses him after the battle. Carmela is moved from revenge of her masters' deaths to pure love by mere sight of his face. "E como lo vio tan feroso, y su cara tan ferosa y tan resplandeciente... estándole mirando por una gran pieza, que apenas los ojos dél los podía partir," (Montalvo, 199). "And how she saw him so beautiful, and his face so handsome and so radiant... gazing at him as a great piece, that hardly her eyes from him could she take." Esplandián is constructed as a type of person from northern climates, who is therefore, physically apt. However, as discussed in the first chapter, the state of the body affected the spiritual being of a man as well. As a result, just by looking at Esplandián, one could read the condition of his soul. His physical perfection is matched by his loyalty and dedication to serving God and the monarchs, who are his representatives on earth.

Esplandián's bodily might is accompanied by great religious fervor and loyalty to God, shown through service to the crown. His strength of body corresponds with his strength of faith, and as a result, Esplandián is rewarded with triumph in all of his battles. By defending God through service to the Christian emperors of Constantinople, Esplandián provides an example of how the Christian empire could grow by doing as the warrior does. Esplandián is constructed in accordance with the tripartite division of the globe. As a kind of person, his strength can be appropriated to serve monarchical interests by maximizing upon his nature. At the same time, by utilizing that which the universe had granted him the best form to do, Esplandián fulfills his potential and serves God.

As Esplandián travels to La Montaña Defendida, he does battle with pagan giants, initially to liberate king Lisuarte from his captors and later to defend the head of the Christian empire. Esplandián places utmost importance on how his faith must continually be reaffirmed by actions. If not, there could be both spiritual and worldly consequences. Esplandián offers the example of his father, Amadís, who went in search of his own glory and honor, incorrectly using chivalric might. Esplandián poses the question to Sargíl about how much better would it have been for Amadís to use his naturally given strength in the service of faith. He also asks how much mightier would his sword and honor be had he fought for God, and thus been guaranteed victory. Esplandián also chides other monarchs, who have proclaimed their obedience to Rome and to Christ but have fallen to fighting amongst each other instead of uniting to defeat pagan threats. Esplandián explains that as a result God has allowed these kingdoms to fall, thereby making a direct reference to the historical falling of Constantinople in 1453 to the Turks. In his commentary, there is a social critique, but also a prescription for remedying social, political, and spiritual ills by utilizing the attributes that divine providence has granted to a person or to a people for God and crown.

A social role is thus scripted by one's place of origin, based on the tripartite system. In the novel, the fulfilling of this social role is portrayed as a means to worldly and spiritual success. Esplandián is constructed out of a series of characteristics belonging to what had been seen or noted in specific cases of people being from the north. His nature, along with those from above the Septentrion, was determined by linking bodily construction to his place of origin. Furthermore, by

connecting Esplandián's nature to his faith, his bodily might becomes a force through which to demonstrate his dedication to God by offering his strength to the defense of the Christian emperors. The knight offers an example of how contribute one's own aptitudes to the protection of the Christian social body.

In the same way that Esplandián is constructed in a way that his attributes correspond with those believed to be of people from Great Britain, so too are his enemies built as kinds of peoples from particular latitudes. They are from La Montaña Defendida, on the border of Byzantium and Persia. His enemies are constructed using the notion that ontological similarities existed between peoples from the same latitude. In this way, a myriad of characteristics were sewn together to create a type or figure that believably, could have originated from such a zone. The first encounter the Christian knight has with natives of the zone included several giants, who are relatives of Arcalaús, an enemy of Esplandián's father Amadís. The family of giants has taken King Lisuarte captive and placed him in a prison within La Montaña Defendida.

Physical deformities of these giants reflect environmental influence, and manifest visibly how imbalance produces sickness of the soul. For example, for one such giant, Matroco, the environment that surrounds him and from which he is a product, is conducive to physical abnormality. His home, La Montaña Defendida, is described below:

...fortaleza pagana, pero no sometida a Persia; unida por tierra a este imperio, pero a corta distancia por mar de Constantinopla... tales lugares, destacados siempre por su interioridad, profundidad o aislamiento, encierran, a la vez, peligros y premios para quien los afronta. Su tipología, de origen mítico y folclórico, se halla bien representada en las *Sergas*, reforzando así los manidos ecos bretones

de la obra. El acceso a la Montaña Defendida es, en realidad, una cueva, un monte hueco, y el recorrido de Esplandián por ella equivale a un descenso iniciático a los infiernos (Sainz de la Maza 44-45).

... pagan fortress, but not subjugated to Persia; united by land to this empire, but a short distance by sea from Constantinople... such places, stationed always for their interior, depth, or isolatedness, enclose, at the same time, dangers and prizes for he who confronts them. Their typology, of mythic and folkloric, finds itself well represented in *Sergas*, reinforcing in this way the hackneyed British echoes of the work. Access to the Defended Mountain, is, in reality, a cave, a hollow mountain, and the path of Esplandián through it equates to an initiating descent into its hells...

La Montaña Defendida is a southern region, on the same latitudinal parallel as Granada, the last Moorish stronghold in Iberia. Spiritual deviance was already linked to the Moors of Iberia and read onto the inhabitants La Montaña Defendida. The fortress or cavern that Esplandián enters, where these giants live, is a physical representation that parallels the condition of their souls.

As a descent into hell, like Sainz de la Maza describes, these pagan giants reside within this dark mountain, in the south, which is surrounded by water. The terrain is described in several ways:

...la dueña fue delante por el castillo, y el rey y él trás ella, y llegaron a la finiestra, donde gran parte de la tierra y de la mar se parecía (Montalvo 159).

‘...más no será ella tan ponderosa que quitarme pueda de te tener cercado por la mar y por la tierra fasta que a merced te tome...’ (Montalvo 160).

...podría ser algún cavallero del imperio de Gracia, que cerca de aquella montaña estava... (Montalvo 165).

...the mistress went in front of the castle, and the king and he behind her, and they arrived to the outskirts, where a great part of the land and the sea appeared...

...no more will she be so powerful to take from me is able to have you surrounded by sea and by land until by mercy it takes you...

...could be able some knight of the Empire of Grace, which near to that mountain was...

As Wey Gómez points out, in the process of Castilian monarchy's imperial expansion, Columbus uses the ambiguity of India's location to bolster his own argument in support of crossing an ocean to find it and his opponents to dismiss him (174). Similarly, La Montaña Defendida is constructed as a border between Christian and infidel lands. It is a moveable place that is located near the known, or Christendom, but separated from it by water and part of the unknown. In this case, the known is used to construct the unknown. In doing so, Montalvo creates a plausible space that gives birth to unnatural peoples based on its location at the fringe of the known world. As part of the Arabian Peninsula, this mountain fortress is linked to the Far East and to the south, yet surrounded by waters. The rugged fortress is moted by sea. As noted in the first chapter, beings which originate from this place would be accidents of nature. The giants' bodies have grown out of control giving way to excessive size and quicker maturation process. In the same way, their souls have also been corrupted by this climatic influence.

Matroco, last living son of Arcabona, queen of this castle, is constructed, in part, in relation to the south, in part to the east, and in part to the moisture. His physical deformity as a giant is also used to mirror the diseased nature of his soul. Matroco is the creation of an exception, or marvel, and he is built in relation to the use of the heterotopias, or elsewhere. The ambiguity of the location of La Montaña Defendida in novelesque space has been arranged in order to reaffirm temperate

Castilian civility by ontological association. Humidity and heat, in conjunction with mountainous terrain, were the climatic influences used to create this non-Christian giant. For example, in the text, Matroco is described as overgrown from the hyper productivity induced by moisture, which also caused things to spoil at an early age:

... él fuese muy grande de cuerpo en demasía, y la grandeza la ligereza le quitasse, no se podia guardar de no recibir golpes... Assí que la gran valentía ni bravo corazón del jayán no pudieron resistir que él no se tirasse fuera... (Montalvo 166).

He was very large in body in too much, and the grandness of his agility impeded him, he could not guard [himself] from receiving blows... Thus the great ferociousness nor brave heart of the giant could not resist that he was not thrown out...

Matroco is so large that he cannot protect himself from Esplandián, even though he is mighty and aggressive in his fighting. He cannot defend himself, and so he offers to quit the battle.

In fact, ironically, the giant offers to let Esplandián go and rescue Lisuarte even though Matroco is himself losing the battle. Esplandián rejects the empty praise, as he too knows the giant is no match for his faith or God's might. Esplandián responds,

‘Pero aquellos... labor armada sobre tan falso cimientto escusarse de caer cuando más segura el que en ella se fía está...’ (Montalvo 167).

‘But those... labor armed over such false [a] foundation excuse themselves from falling when more secure he that in her [faith] believes is...’

Esplandián denounces Matroco for using cruelty as a way to gain personal honor and glory. Esplandián, as a Christian knight, wages just war upon Matroco, not because he is an infidel, but because he is able to repel non-Christians' use of force and to

punish him for his actions, proportionately to the transgression. Esplandián defeats Matroco in a bloody duel, and offers the giant his life in exchange for baptism.

As the two return to battle, suddenly Matroco decides to convert to Christianity while at the point of defeat and death. Nevertheless, Esplandián does not directly impose conversion upon him. According to canonical law, conversion could not result from coercion. Yet, if he does not convert, Matroco must continue to battle to the death. For this reason, Matroco's conversion is dubious because of his physical weakness; moreover because of his mental sagacity, which is characteristic of those from the south. One is left to ask if his acceptance of Christianity a question of survival or sincere conversion. According to Benito-Vessels's investigation on late 15th and early 16th century notions of language, it was believed that moral principals were demonstrated by one's use of words. This was not only because of the grammatically correct articulation, but because the integrity of the person depended on whether or not his words corresponded with his actions:

La palabra que no procede de una conducta recta es un gesto vacío, carece de alma y niega el auténtico propósito del lenguaje. Las palabras y los hechos son simples manifestaciones en modos diferentes, de la misma realidad moral. Por ellos, ambos son mutuamente equivalentes... (*Heterodoxa* 108).

The Word that does not proceed of just conduct is an empty gesture, lacks heart and negates the authentic purpose of language. Words and facts are simple manifestations in different forms of the same moral reality. For them, both are mutually equivalent.

Thus Matroco's acceptance of Christianity should demonstrate his sincere acceptance of the Christian faith because words and actions are a manifestation of the same moral or spiritual reality. The giant says to Esplandián,

‘... y desde agora te digo que con la batalla o sin ella, o con la vida o la muerte, quiero creer en el que tú crees y fenescer en su ley,’
(Montalvo 169).

’...and from now [on] I say to you that with battle or without it or with life or death, I want to believe in that which you believe and bask in his law’.

Matroco agrees to accept Christianity, with or without an end to the battle, life or death. However, with his word, Matroco accept the death of his sinful ways and should assume a new way of being.

Matroco’s spiritual death upon defeat and conversion at the same time illustrates a reference to the Christian belief in resurrection. The giant would be born anew, but within a distinct hierarchical system. Matroco would no longer be lord but servant to Christ and crown. As Benito-Vessels pointed out, words and deeds were to be understood as equal components in religious texts. Hence, the death of pagan belief through a sincere conversion would mean that spiritual salvation would be accompanied by a healing of physical disease, or in this case, harm. Matroco’s body should be saved from the point of death; by his faith, he should be healed. One is reminded of the example in the New Testament of a woman with a blood disease she had suffered for many years. The woman decided that if she touched the garment of Jesus, she could be healed. When the woman did, Jesus felt the power leave him, and he said, “*Iesus converses et videns eam dixit confide filia fides tua te salvam fecit et salva facta est mulier ex illa hora,*” (Matthew 9:20-22). / “But Jesus turning and seeing her, said: Be of good heart, daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour.” In the same way, Matroco’s body should be made whole through his faith.

In Huarte's explanation of how well a person can converse could determine their wit, he also notes that detailed observation, discussion, and interaction must be part of the process of examination. In fact, a teacher must spend much time studying the pupil before accepting him:

No tienen otro oficio los maestros con sus discípulos (a lo que yo tengo entendido) más que apuntarles la doctrina; porque si tienen fecundo ingenio, con solo esto les hacen parir admirable conceptos, y si no, atormentan a sí y a los que los enseñan y jamás salen con lo que pretenden. Yo a lo menos, si fuera maestro, antes que recibiera en mi escuela ningún discípulo, había de hacer con él muchas pruebas y experiencias para descubrirle el ingenio; y si le hallara de buen natural para la ciencia que yo profesaba, recibíerale de buena agana, porque es gran contento para el que enseña instruir a un hombre de buena habilidad; y si no, aconsejérale que estudiase la ciencia que a su ingenio más le convenía. Pero, entendido que para ningún género de letras tenía disposición ni capacidad, dijérale con amor y blandas palabras: 'Hermano mío, vos no tenéis remedio de ser hombre por el camino que habéis escogido...', (Huarte [Ed. 1594] 47).

They do not have another office teachers with their disciples (to what I have understood) more than to point them to the doctrine; because if they have fecund wit, with only this they make them give birth to admirable concepts, and if not, they torment themselves and those that teach them and never accomplish what they set out to. I at least, if I were a teacher, before I would receive in my school any disciple, I would have to give him many tests and experiments in order to discover his wit; and if he were found of good nature for the science that I taught, I would receive him with good faith, because it is great happiness for him that teaches to instruct a man of good ability; and if not, I would advise him that he study the science that to his wit was most conducive. But, understood that for no genre of letters did he have disposition nor capacity, I would say to him with love and soft words: 'My brother, you have no remedy to be a man on the path you have chosen.'

One's office, to understand the wit and nature of a man, was to watch and listen. By this, he could determine a man's character. Esplandián and the other Christians, who arrive to aid him, must wait and see if Matroco's words in fact correspond with the reality that should occur based on the faith he professed.

Giráldez thoroughly investigates the resemantizing of the chivalric novel for evangelical purposes in *Esplandián*, specifically as a propagandistic text for the Catholic Kings. She writes,

Matroco rechaza las palabras de Esplandián hasta que, ya al punto de la muerte, se convence de la verdad de lo que le dice el joven cristiano... A pesar de los cuidados de Elisabat, Matroco muere poco tiempo después y es enterrado en tierra sagrada en una muy rica sepultura... El episodio de Matroco ilustra el poder persuasivo de Esplandián como caballero evangélico y es un modelo de la conversión ideal del infiel: la conversión por convencimiento (79).

Matroco rejects the words of Esplandian until, at the point of death, he is convinced of the truth of what the young Christian tells him. Even after all of the care from Elisabat, Matroco dies a short time later and is buried on sacred ground in a rich tomb... The episode of Matroco illustrates the persuasive power of Esplandian as an evangelical knight and is a model of an ideal conversion of the infidel: conversion through convincing.

I do not agree with Giráldez's interpretation of Matroco's conversión as sincere.

Matroco may say he accepts Christianity, but his faith should heal him. Helisabad, the doctor, priest, and physician of the Christian knights, observes as he takes Matroco into his care. Yet Helisabad does not cure him. He is aware that both the wounds from the battle and the spiritual disease Matroco faced were perilous:

...Pues, quitándole los pedazos de las armas que de la batalla le quedaron, y tomándole la sangre, mandó que lo pusiessen en un lecho, y assí se hizo; y no quiso hacerle otra cura fasta ver si tornaría en su acuerdo (Montalvo 174).

Thus, taking off [from him] the pieces of arms that from the battle remained, and taking his blood, he commanded that they put him in a room; and thus it was done; and he did not want to do [any] other cure until seeing if he would return to himself turn on his agreement.

One can interpret the last part of this quote in two ways: whether or not the giant would return to consciousness or turn on his word. However, these two separate

meanings are one in the same. While it would seem that Helisabad should not wait to administer medicine to save the giant, it is not Helisabad that can provide such healing. Matroco has accepted Christ, the Divine Physician, who is both doctor and medicine (Solomon 19-21). The Word of God is a *pharmakon*, which like a pill, once taken has both the power to kill and cure. Sincerity of conversion, or choosing spiritual salvation, is accompanied by bodily restoration. Falsity of conversion, as an empty word, would also be a manifestation of one's moral character. In that case, false faith could not heal a person. Due to the lack of faith behind his conversion, Matroco does not receive spiritual or physical salvation, and the giant's wounds do not heal. Matroco's wounds remain unhealed but not because Helisabad did not treat him. Rather there was no medicine to cure a disease from which he does not wish to recover. Matroco chose not to reject his sinful nature or to become part of the healthy Christian social body, but rather merely say it. Hence, Matroco chose spiritual and physical death.

As Matroco dies, his mother, Arcabona, an extension of her son's character, reacts to her son's death. Her actions reaffirm the suspicions of the falsity of their conversion. Arcabona has just explained to Lisuarte how she accompanied her husband to La Montaña Defendida, originally being from Great Britain and Christian. However, due to contact with non-Christians, she left the faith. Her conversion is already dubious because she had already left the Church once. Nevertheless, Arcabona, is forgiven by Lisuarte for her actions of kidnapping and imprisoning him. Yet, when Arcabona learns of Matroco's passing, she lunges at King Lisuarte with a sword before killing herself. Her attempt to kill Lisuarte to avenge her son and her

suicide are clear demonstrations of the emptiness of the conversion to Christianity. Arcabona, as well as Matroco, have sworn to accept Christ, who offers them temporal and spiritual salvation. The apprehension of letters is not necessary to accept this new way of being. Rather, the sincere choice to convert to Christianity and to speak, practice, and uphold the Word of God must be accepted. Going back to Aristotelian notions of citizenship, then, one who speaks like the rest of a Christian social body but does not accept the meaning behind the message is still diseased. It would not be sufficient for son and mother to say they are Christian. It is through action that one proves their faith. Christ is believed to have the power and desire to heal all, but those who choose not to understand or accept Christian theology and live by it reject the possibility of overcoming their sick condition.

Arcabona and Matroco's rejection of the saving power of Christ is thus a way to liken them to animals because they have chosen to remain outside or excluded from the civic body or to become human. In his examinations on wit, Huarte also associates the inability to speak well with likeness to brute animals. Biologically, of course, the construction of such a man is clearly understood to be equal in manner to that of other men. However, the condition of being unable to learn to do so is caused by humoral and genetic imbalance. Hence, the man is not an animal physically, but because of his disease, he cannot show solidarity with other men through working towards a common goal of living well under accepted civic norms. This man faces social death or exclusion of this man from those who spoke the same language, or members of the Christian social body. In this case, the language of this civic body is

spoken by those who serve God and Christian kings. However, Huarte claims that no letters or manner of teaching can change a man's disposition:

Una de las mayores injurias que al hombre le pueden hacer de palabra estando ya en edad de discreción, dice Aristóteles, es llamarle falta de ingenio; porque toda su honra y nobleza, dice Cicerón, es tener ingenio y ser bien hablado: *Ut hominis decus est ingenium, sic ingeii lumen est eloquentia*. En solo esto se diferencia de los brutos animales y tiene semejanza con Dios, que es la mayor grandeza que naturaleza pudo alcanzar. Por lo contrario, el que nació sin ingenio, ningún género de letras puede aprender, y donde no hay sabiduría, dice Platón, ni puede haber felicidad ni honra que sea verdadera; antes, dice el Sabio: *Stultus natus est ignominiam suam*. Porque forzamente se ha de contar en el número de los brutos animales y estimarle por tal... ([Ed. 1572] 41).

One of the worst insults of words made to a man being already at the age of discretion, says Aristotle, is to call him lack of wit; because all of his honor and nobility, says Cicero, is to have wit and to be well spoken: *Ut hominis decus est ingenium, sic ingeii lumen est eloquentia*. In only this does he differ from brute animals and has similarity with God, which is the greatest height that nature could achieve, But on the contrary, he who is born without wit, no genre of letters can learn, and where there is no knowledge, says Plato, can there be happiness or honor be true; before, says the Sage: *Stultus natus est ignominiam suam*. Because forcefully he must be counted among the number of brute animals and esteem him as such.

In this way, a diseased person is physically, intellectually, and spiritually unlike other men in their relationship to God. His disease is reflected in his inability to learn letters, such that he could not understand the nature of God. Would some men, therefore, be born and left permanently outside the healing power of Christ?

Esplandián also likens other enemies of the faith and crown to animals. For example, in battle with another giant and relative of Matroco, named Furión, Esplandián rebukes his foe:

‘Bestia mala desemejada sin talle y sin razón, ¿qué te diré, sino que eres más peor que ese enemigo malo que dices? Porque él, condenado del alto Señor, ya no le queda lugar a ningún arrepentimiento ni remedio a salud; mas tú, a quien dijo juicio y tiempo de te arrepentir,

fazer las crueldades y malas obras que fazes, por mucho peor que ninguno dellos te devo tener, pues que lo que es en tu mano ya no lo es en la suya, ni lo puede ser; y quítate dessa puerta y dame lugar que yo entre y acabe mi demanda' (Montalvo 148-49).

'Bad beast unnatural in size and without reason, what will I say to you, but that you are much worse than that bad enemy that you say? Because he, condemned from the high God, no longer remains for him place for any repentance nor remedy to his health; but you, to whom said judgment and time to repent yourself, to do the cruelties and bad works that you do, for much worse than any of them I should have you, since that which is in your hand is no longer in his, nor can it be; and get out of that door and give me space to enter and carry out my command.'

Not only does Esplandián link sin and disease, but also lack of faith as an indication of being a beast. Because of the choice to continue to reject Christ, there can be no redemption for the giant, let alone survival. Furion initially experiences a social death because he was not willing to be part of the human community. He remains as a beast, who cannot speak the Word of God. As a result, Furion is killed, in part by Esplandián's sword, who acts in the name of God.

In the same way, the relationship made between beasts, sin, and death is reaffirmed when Arcabona drives herself over a cliff. This scene provokes the imagery of the parable in Mark's Gospel of the possessed man, who when Jesus heals him, evil spirits come out of him and enter into a herd of swine, that then leap into the sea and drown:

...et exeunti ei de navi statim occurrit ei de monumentis homo in spiritu inmundo qui domicilium habebat in monumentis et neque catenis iam quisquam eum poterat ligare quoniam saepe conpedibus et catenis vinctus dirupisset catenas et conpedes comminuisset et nemo poterat eum domare et semper nocte ac die in monumentis et in montibus erat clamans et concidens se lapidibus videns autem Iesum a longe cucurrit et adoravit eum et clamans voce magna dicit quid mihi et tibi Iesu Fili Dei summi adiuro te per Deum ne me torqueas dicebat enim illi exi spiritus inmunde ab homine et interrogabat eum quod tibi

nomen est et dicit ei Legio nomen mihi est quia multi sumus et deprecabatur eum multum ne se expelleret extra regionem erat autem ibi circa montem grex porcorum magnus pascens et deprecabantur eum spiritus dicentes mitte nos in porcos ut in eos introeamus et concessit eis statim Iesus et exeuntes spiritus inmundi introierunt in porcos et magno impetu grex praecipitatus est in mare ad duo milia et suffocati sunt in mare... (Mark 5:2-13).

And as he went out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the monuments a man with an unclean spirit, Who had his dwelling in the tombs, and no man now could bind him, not even with chains. For having been often bound with fetters and chains, he had burst the chains, and broken the fetters in pieces, and no one could tame him. And he was always day and night in the monuments and in the mountains, crying and cutting himself with stones. And seeing Jesus afar off, he ran and adored him. And crying with a loud voice, he said: What have I to do with thee, Jesus the Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not. For he said unto him: Go out of the man, thou unclean spirit. And he asked him: What is thy name? And he saith to him: My name is Legion, for we are many. And he besought him much, that he would not drive him away out of the country. And there was there near the mountain a great herd of swine, feeding. And the spirits besought him, saying: Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And Jesus immediately gave them leave. And the unclean spirits going out, entered into the swine: and the herd with great violence was carried headlong into the sea, being about two thousand, were stifled in the sea.

The young man is saved by Jesus' word and his own faith. Many become afraid and ask Jesus to leave their land. However, the young man does the contrary as Jesus boarded his ship to depart.

...et rogare eum coeperunt ut discederet de finibus eorum cumque scenderet navem coepit illum deprecari qui daemonio vexatus fuerat ut esset cum illo et non admisit eum sed ait illi vade in domum tuam ad tuos et dnuntia illis quanta tibi Dominus fecerit et misertus sit tui et abiit et coepit praedicare in Decapoli quanta sibi fecisset Iesus et omnes mirabantur... (Mark 5:17-20).

... And they began to pray him that he would depart from their coasts. And when he went up into the ship, he that had been troubled with the devil, began to beseech him that he might be with him. And he admitted him not, but saith him: Go into thy house to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had

mercy on thee. And he went his way, and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done for him: and all men wondered.

The young man's faith is demonstrated by his actions after conversion and healing.

The young man proves himself to be saved and a believer by following Jesus' instructions and preaching about the miracle. Yet, others do not convert even when confronted with the miracle. The people cannot or choose not to comprehend the meaning behind the link between Jesus' message, the young man's faith, and his following actions. They choose not to accept Christ even when offered an example of its reward, and thus Jesus leaves without question.

The connection between the image of swine filled with demons and Matroco's mother, Arcabona, as an extension of her son's questionable conversion could conjure yet another biblical reference. In Matthew's gospel, Jesus explains to the disciples that once the people of a village have rejected Christ's teachings, the apostles should not cast their pearls before swine:

... nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conversi dirumpant vos (Matthew 7:6).

'Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you.'

Returning to Huarte's discussion of man's wit, then, it could be posed that some people were not capable of learning letters. However, according to papal bull, all men were believed capable of receiving the Gospels.¹⁸ Thus, rather than because of

¹⁸ *Sublimis Deus* was not a bull that declared the humanity of the Indians. Instead, as Adorno writes, "The purpose of the bull was to prevent and condemn the usurpation of the Indians' sovereignty, the confiscation of their property, and their enslavement," (*Polemics*, 108).

inability, it was by choice that a man could triumph over sin and reject his own diseased condition.

In another scene, Esplandián's Christian friends, Manelli the Measured and King Dacías battle against the non-Christian giant, Frandalo. Frandalo is also from a small island near the same region as Matroco. This island is also a literary else-where or heterotopias, placed 'somewhere' near to Constantinople and La Montaña Defendida. The geographical surroundings that influence Frandalo are similar to those that influence Matroco and his mother.

Frandalo is thus from 'somewhere' in the south, and this corresponds with the level of sagacity he will show. Moreover, Frandalo is overgrown from the moisture, which has sickened his mind and body. For example, Frandalo is described as very large:

... muy membrudo, como aquel que venía de parte de su madre de los más Fuertes jayanes de todo el señorío de Persia, e de su padre de muy valientes y esforçados... (Montalvo 276).

...very large membered, like he that came on the part of his mother of the most strong giants of all of the kingdom of Persia, and of his father very valiant and strong...

Frandalo is very strong from his mother's Persian lineage and bold from his father's. When doing battle, Frandalo uses his daring will and intellect and is a skilled opponent to Manelli. "...viendo la gran valentía de Frandalo que con mucha sabiduría dava y recibía los golpes," (Montalvo 277). "... seeing the great valor of Frandalo that with much knowledge gave and received the blows." Montalvo uses notions of Frandalo's ancestral inheritance and the climatic influences of his place of origin in the plausible creation of an astute monster, who is apt and capable in battle.

As noted in the first chapter, over exposure to heat and humidity produced diseased conditions, such as sanguine and choleric tendencies. Hence, Frandalo's extremely large physical condition corresponds with his astuteness as well as his diseased soul. Huarte connected the presence of burnt cholera with the deceptive nature of a serpent ([Ed. 1594] 119). On the one hand, Frandalo could be deceitful. On the other hand, the humidity could cause him to forget his knowledge, or even his promise to serve God and the Christian emperors. His condition could be an even greater threat to the knights he is traveling with, if he were to deceive them. His lack of memory could lead him to sin again because of the malleability of the substance of his brain from the effects of the moisture. The negative influence of being like a fox or serpent is a risk that is supposed to be eliminated with a promise to no longer wage war against the Christian knights and emperors. Yet, the influence of the humidity could ware on the possibility of keeping such an oath.

Frandalo had kidnapped Carmela, Esplandián's messenger and personal servant, on her way to Constantinople. As in the case of Matroco, the same logic of repelling an attack and punishing Frandalo for such a transgression is considered licit. Manelli, a much younger and smaller Christian knight, does battle with him for Carmela's freedom. Frandalo is defeated by Manelli, despite the disparity in strength favoring the giant. Manelli's devotion to God is demonstrated through the strength reflected in his sword. More than once, he dedicates himself to God with prayers:

Pero Manelli, considerando el gran peligro en que estava, donde ante la muerte que el vencimiento avía de recibir, sabiendo ya la crueza desse cavallero, que no era satisfecha sino cuando en mayor grado la esecutava, punó de poner todas sus fuerças, en las cuales, después de Dios, tenía él la esperança de su salvación... (Montalvo 278).

But Manelli, considering the great danger in which he was, where facing death from losing he would have to receive, knowing already the cruelty of that knight, who was not satisfied except when in the greatest degree he executed it, began to gather all of his strength, in which, after God, he had hope of his salvation.

As a result, Manelli is victorious. Frandalo is confronted with physical and spiritual death as he loses the battle. Frandalo agrees to surrender and as part of the chivalric code of conduct, he swears to save Manelli and King Dacías.

Frandalo makes a pledge to Manelli and King Dacías, who are both political and spiritual representatives of Christianity. “Cavallero, si me asseguraras la vida seré puesto en la tu merced, esperando fallar en ella algún reparo,” (Montalvo 280).

Knight, if you assure me life, I will be put in your service, hoping to find in it some repayment.” By offering his promise, theoretically Frandalo is obligated to carry out the Christians’ will without question. However, Frandalo is also wounded to the point of death, much like Matroco. Once he gives his word to the knights, he is taken to a room aboard the ship to be cared for. There, he accepts Manelli and King Dacías’ request that he serve the Christian emperors of Constantinople, agreeing to become a servant of God as well:

‘Señor, las grandes y buenas venturas que fasta aquí la Fortuna me fizo cobrar... por mano de un solo cavallero de tan poca edad, quiso derribarme dessa tan gran alteza en que puesto me avía, assí como ella fizo tan gran mudança, así yo la he fecho en mi propósito remitiéndome más a la razón que a la voluntad. E si vuestra grandeza, aviendo de mí piedad, quisiera fiarse en mi palabra, por mí será cumplido todo aquello que manda que yo faga, así, la mudança de la Ley como en tornar al contrario las obras en que mi tempo he pasado, trabajando tanto en le servir como bueno y leal alcançar pueda muy mayor estado y gloria que la maldad y deslealtad en los tiempos pasados me atraxeron,’ (Montalvo 310-311).

Sir, the great and good adventures that until here Fortune has made me pay for... by the hand of only one knight of such a young age, it

wanted to throw me down [from] that great height in which it had placed me, thus how she made such a great move, likewise I have done it in my purpose remitting myself more to reason than to will. And if your highness, having mercy on me, would like to believe in my word, by me it will be completed all that you command that I do, thus, the change of the Law like in turning to the contrary the works in which in my time I have done, working so much in serving him as good and loyal to achieve this can a much better state and glory than the evil and disloyalty in past times [that] attracted me.

By accepting the authority of Christ, Frandalo also pledges his allegiance to Christian monarchs. Again, one could question the sincerity of such a promise because it was given. It becomes apparent that Frandalo has acted with sincerity. His wounds are healed from the battle on his way to Constantinople, manifesting physical reparation through spiritual salvation.

As he enters Constantinople, Frandalo shows fear for his sinful acts committed against the emperors in the past. Manelli and King Dacías reassure him that harm will not come to him. When Frandalo is brought before the emperor, he swears to serve him and is granted forgiveness and clemency. It is by his word and willingness that Frandalo is welcomed into the Christian community. This community is much like the Aristotelian civic body. To carry out of actions in service of the regime was the foundation for partnerships within it and the primary role of its members:

For the preservation of the ship in its voyage is the work of all of them, and each of the sailors strives for this. Similarly, although citizens are dissimilar, preservation of the partnership is their task, and the regime is [this] partnership; hence the virtue of the citizen must necessarily be with a view to the regime (Aristotle 90).

Frando now legally is able to be present in Constantinople and walk amongst Christians as one of them. He is a member of the civic body because he has accepted

the Word of God. He has also promised to work with other knights to uphold the emperors' political authority and Christian rule.

Frاندalo is then educated by Helisabad about Christianity and is baptized. Through his faith, Frاندalo has received guidance in actions and gained a new understanding of time and space. His non-Christian beliefs are relegated to the past, and therefore his diseased condition is healed as he is integrated into the Christian social body. He has sworn to uphold a Christian code of conduct that would bring about Christ's universal reign. If he is sincere in his faith, God will continue to heal him and protect him from all harm. However, Frاندalo must continue to choose God in over to overcome climatic and ancestral influences, which would then no longer be causes for transgression.

Frاندalo, although a new member of the Christian social body, still faces the question of having been an infidel and is suspected of being untrustworthy. He is put to the test. He must prove he is able to overcome his humoral imbalances and reject his sinful way of being on more than one occasion. Frاندalo does battle with Esplandián's Christian band of knights. They are confronted with Frاندalo's pagan family and the King of Persia, his former ruler:

'Rey, no puedo hazer ni dezir más de lo que la voluntad deste cavallero, mi señor, me otorgare; y si dexando la ley en que me viste te ha puesto en duda de no estar firme en la que agora tengo, la prisión tuya te da el testimonio de la verdad,' (Montalvo 379).

'King, I cannot do nor say more than that of the wishes of this knight, my master, would grant me; and if learning the law in which you saw me has put you in doubt of not being firm in that which I now have, let your prison give you the testament of truth.'

The King of Persia asks Frandalo to serve him yet again. Esplandián reminds Frandalo of his loyalty. Frandalo rejects the King's offer, and he professes the power of God, asking the pagan ruler to become a Christian. Frandalo chooses to again overcome his imbalances and serve Esplandián, his new Christian emperors, and God. He thereby demonstrates his sincere conversion.

For this reason, Frandalo is guaranteed earthly and spiritual salvation by his choice and faith. Esplandián says to him as he is baptized,

‘... en su servicio, ha puesto tal remedio, si por vos es conocido, con que aquella mala fama perescadera que en lo pasado alcançastes, para siempre en este mundo y después en el otro en muy gran gloria perpetua se vos torne,’ (Montalvo 352).

‘In your service, has put such [the] remedy, if by you is known, with which that evil enduring fame in the past you achieved, for always in this world and after in the next in great perpetual glory it turns to you.’

By using free will, Frandalo rejects returning to his former diseased condition.

Frandalo committed many transgressions against Christians when he was still pagan. According to medical theory, he did so because his mind was overcome by his passions. Even though he is baptized, Frandalo still faces the difficulties of overcoming such conditions. He is continually exposed to those, who desire his death or the turning of his will. Frandalo is still under the climatic and genetic influences, which made him ill. He is healed by his continual faith, but must fight disease over and over. His pre-disposed nature is still present, but Frandalo's must choose to refuse to serve pagan gods and his former ruler. Frandalo must not let the imbalance of the body to lead him to forget his promise to uphold Christianity. Instead, he must employ his physical adeptness and his shrewd military prowess for the service of the emperors and God.

However, because Frandalo was pagan and does not have a balanced temperament, he will be unable to rise in the social hierarchy. Because of his origins, Frandalo is strongest in military strategy. Hence, Frandalo's duty is to use this strength to uphold the authority of the Christian community. In *The Politics*, Aristotle would compare this natural hierarchy to a boat, in which all men are sailors but have different functions they must serve in order for a voyage to take place. In the same way, members of a civic body must function:

Now just as a sailor is one of a number of partners, so, we assert, is the citizen. Although sailors are dissimilar in their capacities (one is a rower, another is a pilot, another a lookout, and others have similar sorts of titles), it is clear that the most precise account of their virtue will be that peculiar to each sort individually, but that a common account will in a similar way fit all (90).

As a member of the civic body, Frandalo must help lead others strategically into battle. Not to do so, would be to ignore his role and go against civic and divine law. In this way, social roles were based upon natures, which were providentially determined. As Frandalo carries out this role, he fulfills God's divine plan on earth.

Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda eventually appropriated this discourse to show how the inhabitants of the New World were to be ruled as *siervos a natura*. As Rolena Adorno has investigated, Sepúlveda combined conceptions of herile and paternal rule to legitimize Castilian authority over them. Over time, subjugated peoples would learn Christianity along with healthy behaviors that were based on their place in a natural hierarchy. Adorno writes of Sepúlveda's theories,

'An eminently good and just king who wants to imitate such [an ideal] paterfamilias, as is his obligation, should govern the Spaniards with a paternal rule and [treat] those barbarians like servants, who are fee with a certain tempered rule, in which he acts as both a master (herile) and a father/ king (paternal), and treats them according to their

[current] state and the demands of the circumstances.’ Sepúlveda here proposes a mixture of two types of servitude, deriving one from (Aristotelian) philosophy and the other from jurisprudence. ‘Herile’ rule, which is likened to dominion of the mind over the body, is translated into the social relationship of natural slavery in which, according to Aristotle, ‘the relationship between the [natural] slave and his master is natural, they are friends.’ ‘Paternal’ rule, analogous to the control of the soul over the passions, implies the social relationship of civil slavery, in which rule relies on law and force (Adorno, *Polemics* 117).

Sepúlveda’s argument is centered on the combination of two kinds of rule, which could be utilized to justify the initial use of force to subjugate non-Christians, as seen in the case of Frandalo. Then dominium over them would be maintained as a form of self protection. Curiously, in *Esplandián*, both forms of rule are experimented.

Based on St. Augustine’s explanation of Just War for the recuperation of territory and defense, *Esplandián* attacks inhabitants of La Montaña Defendida in his rescue of King Lisuarte from his pagan captors. *Esplandián* saves his king and protects Lisuarte and himself from further injury.

Similarly, King Dacías and Manelli battle Frandalo in order to rescue Carmela. Based upon Manelli’s victory over Frandalo, the giant is obligated to forfeit his freedom and also must convert to Christianity. He must also serve the emperors of Constantinople as a form of civil slavery because he has been defeated in Just War. As already noted, there was the possibility of Frandalo returning to his sinful ways. This possibility required that he continually choose to reject pagan beliefs, which will always threaten him due to his diseased nature. With paternal rule, force is applied as a form of protection and as a way to bring Frandalo into the structure of Christian Law and under the wing of its leaders.

As already noted in the first chapter, Aristotle wrote of why those considered disordered needed master's to rule over them due to their depravity. Frandalo's depraved condition arose from environmental influences that made him a slave by nature, in the sense that he is a slave to his body. At the same time, Frandalo has been subjugated through civil slavery because of his sinful actions. His passions have ruled over his soul, such that he followed these rather than his intellect and carried out transgressions against Christians for which he had to be punished. However, Frandalo's diseased condition is based upon the providential design of the universe. Thus Frandalo must be taught actions that demonstrate the control of passions by intellect because he cannot do it for himself. He must choose to continually follow the examples and norms taught to him. To do so requires the continued and educated choice, or exercise of free will, through which Frandalo can leave behind his sinful past. In order to teach him the faith, Frandalo is watched over by the band of Christian knights.

Frandalo, thus, in his process of defeat, has learned through paternal rule, the strength of Christian force and the consequences of sinful actions against God. Esplandián's example and Helisabad's teachings are a continuation of the process of indoctrination. Frandalo has been integrated into the civic body, and thus is awarded a place in the providential Christian victory over history. His body and soul are liberated from their sinful condition through continual exercise of free will. Yet by divine design, his disposition is still affected. The mind has been illuminated by baptism and inclusion in Christ's body, but the giant's physiological construction is a product of heat and moisture. Frandalo can never be a completely tempered being.

His imbalances are the foundation for his place in the hierarchy of existence such that he should be ruled by the Christians and serve them in relation to his natural capabilities.

Based on the idea of herile rule, then, Frandalo will need Christians as a permanent presence or guide to maintain his salvation. Aristotle had already delineated the relationship between a master and a slave:

... concerning the virtues of character: all must share in them, but not in the same way, but to each in relation to his own work. Hence the ruler must have complete virtue of character... Since the child is incomplete, it is clear that its virtue too is not its own as relating to itself, but as relating to its end and the person leading it. The same is true of that of the slave in relation to a master. We laid it down that the slave is useful with respect to the necessary things, so he clearly needs only small amount of virtue- as much as will prevent him from falling short in his work through licentiousness or cowardice... It is evident, therefore, that the master should be responsible for [instilling] this sort of virtue in the slave; he is not merely someone possessing an expertise in mastery which instructs the slave in his work. Those who deny reason to slaves and assert that commands only should be used with them do not argue rightly: admonition is to be used with slaves more than with children (Aristotle 53-54).

Just as Frandalo acquires the Word of God from Christians, he too acquires his full humanity or solidarity within the civic body. Frandalo no longer faces the need for violent subjugation. Rather he must foster the social hierarchy in which he and each member of the civic body will work together to live well by serving crown and God.

This social hierarchy is based on the belief that the universe is comprised of varying parts and is an intricately designed machine. Each kind of peoples from a region make up a component in the machine, which brought together functions as a whole, and thus was to bring about God's reign on earth. Each Christian is to carry out a role, which is in accordance with a classification structure of characteristics, or

typology based on the region they are from. To maintain harmony with the cosmos, each is to act according to their nature and use the strengths in the service of God.

According to St. Thomas Aquinas' teachings, non-Christians like Jews or Muslims that had heard and rejected the Word of God, were deemed vincibly ignorant or *inimicos Christi*. As such, by ignoring their place in the universe, they would not retain their natural rights of sovereignty and personal property. They could be forcibly subjugated and then taught how to serve God through their newly imposed social roles. Such is the state of Matroco, Frandalo, and all subjects loyal to Armato, the King of Persia, through their pagan beliefs and actions. Once defeated and baptized, non-Christians, like Frandalo, became vassals to the crown, who in exchange for the education in Christian faith and his life will serve them. This will be the status of the Indians, clarified by Isabel in reference to the establishment of the *encomienda* system in the New World.

However, those non-Christians, who through no fault of their own had not heard the Gospel, are invincibly ignorant. Therefore these 'true infidels' would retain their natural rights (Pagden 38). Queen Calafia and her group of female warriors from California are invincibly ignorant. They have not heard the Gospel due to the fact that they live in a distant island near the recently discovered Indies:

Sabed que a la diestra mano de las Indias ovo una isla llamada California mucho llegada a la parte del Paraíso terrenal, la cual fue poblada de mugeres negras sin que algún varón entre ellas oviesse, que casi como las amazonas era su estilo de bivar; estas eran de valientes cuerpos y esforçados y ardientes de coraçones, y de grandes fuerças (Montalvo 727).

Know that at the right hand of the Indies was an island called California very closed to the part of earthly Paradise, which was populated by black women with which any man among them were

there, that almost like the amazonas was their style of living; these were of valiant bodies and brave and burning hearts, and of great strengths.

Although no exact location is provided, the route to the Indies was established through Columbus's sailing west and south to reach India and the lands of the far East. Many of the characteristics just noted that Calaifa and her subjects are given are similar to those that appear in Admiral Columbus's *Diario* from the women on the island of Mantinino (Giráldez 81). As Giráldez states,

Al situar la creación de Calaiifa después del primer viaje de Colón, se puede considerar su conversión religiosa en el contexto no sólo de la reconquista de Granada sino también en el contexto de la nueva empresa de las Indias (82).

Situating the creation of Calaiifa after the first trip of Columbus, one can consider her religious conversion in the context not only of the Reconquest of Granada but also of the context of the new enterprise of the Indies.

Yet again, there is the construction of a fictional elsewhere, or heterotopia, that now, by virtue of Columbus's course, unites Castile and the recently discovered New World to India, and just beyond that is the frontier of Armato's domain, the Arabian Peninsula.

Calaifa and her subjects would be ontologically similar to people from India as well as the Arabian Peninsula; this being due to all having places of origin along the same latitudinal parallel. Due to India's southern location and nearness to the equator, the extreme heat was believed to scorch the skin of these women, giving them very large bronzed bodies. However, the extreme heat was also believed to create fabulous jewels, like those found in India. Because of this, the ontological

connection between India and California is reinforced by the types of precious jewels that the women carry, wearing pure gold to cover themselves as armor in battle:

Passada aquella noche y la mañana venida, la reina Calaiifa salida de la mar, armada ella y sus mugeres desas armas de oro y sembradas todas de piedras muy preciosas (que en aquella su isla de California como las piedras del campo se hallavan, según la su gran abundancia) (Montalvo 731).

Passed that night and the morning arrived, Queen Calaiifa leaving the sea, armed and her women of those arms of gold and seeded all with very precious stones (which in that their island of California like stones of the field were found in great abundance).

In the same way that heat and moisture are great factors in the formation of the women's fierce bodies and aggressive dispositions, the jewels also grew wildly large.

Like Matroco and Frandalo, these women have large and strong bodies due to their exposure to heat and moisture. Thus, the Californians are also subject to bodily imbalances that affect the mind and soul. Such distemperament of the body would cause the passions to rule over the soul, as seen in the pagan giants of Arabia and discussed in the first chapter. Similar to them, the Californians have limited ability to use their deliberative faculty to control sinful nature. Such limited ability is demonstrated by their perverse sexual practices, which do not require that they marry, and that men are considered inferior to women. For example,

...los hombres que prendían llevábanlos consigo... E algunas vezes que tenían pazes con sus contrarios mezclábanse con toda segurança unos con otros y avían sus ayuntamientos, de donde se seguía quedar muchas dellas preñadas; y si parían hembra guárdavanla, y si varón luego era muerto. La causa dello, según se sabía, era porque en sus pensamientos tenían firme de apocar los varones en tan pequeño número que sin trabajo los pudiesen señorear con todas sus tierras, y guardar aquellos que entendiesen que cumplía para que la generación no pereciese. En esta isla, California llamada, avía muchos grifos ... y traíanlos a sus cuevas, y allí los criaban. Y siendo ya igualados, cevábanlos en aquellos hombres y en los niños que parían, tantas vezes

con tales artes que muy bien conocían a ellas y no les fazían ningún mal. Cualquiera varón que en la isla entrasse, luego por ellos era muerto y comido; y cuando se enojavan de los traer dexávanlos caer donde luego eran muertos (Montalvo 728).

The men that they took they brought with them... And sometimes that they had peace with their enemies they mixed with complete security some with others and they had their meetings, of where it followed many left of them pregnant; and if they birthed a girl they kept her, and if a boy later it was killed. The cause of that, according to what was known, was because in their thoughts they had firm to lessen the men in so small a number that without work they could subjugate them with all of their lands, and keep those that understood that they served so that reproduction would not perish. In the island, California called, there were many grifos... and they brought them to their caves and there cared for them. And being now equals, ceded them those men and those boys that they birthed, so many times with so much art that they knew well these women and did them no harm. Whichever man that would enter the island later by them was killed and eaten...

Men are used to reproduce, a few are allowed to carry out manual labor among them, and when male children are born, they are fed to animals (728). Such behavior, according to Aristotle and Christian theology, is contrary to the natural hierarchy of the universe. "...the relation of male to female is by nature a relation of superior to inferior and ruler to ruled," (Aristotle41).

The disorder of relationships between man and woman is not separate from the fact that the Californians also live with their half lion, half eagle creatures. As Aristotle reminds us,

...persons who cannot exist without one another: on the one hand, male and female, for the sake of reproduction ... on the other, the naturally ruling and ruled, on account of preservation. For that which can foresee with the mind is the naturally ruling and naturally mastering element, while that which can do these things with the body is the naturally ruled and slave; hence the same thing is advantageous for the master and slave. Now the female is distinguished by nature from the slave. For nature makes nothing in an economizing spirit, as smiths make the Delphic knife, but one thing with a view to one thing; and each instrument would perform most finely if it served one task

rather than many. The barbarians, though, have the same arrangement for female and slave. The reason for this is that they have no naturally ruling element... 'first a house, and a woman, and ox for plowing'- for poor persons have an ox instead of a servant. The household is the partnership constituted by nature for [the needs of] daily life... (36).

Californians acknowledge that men are necessary for reproduction and preservation. However, according to Aristotle, the ability to rule is based on foresight and planning for the future. Those of a lesser nature shall be ruled due to their inability to do so, or what he calls slaves, which is separate from a woman. Barbarians, or those who did not speak Greek, did not respect this natural hierarchy, and therefore would not necessarily differentiate a woman from a slave, nor a slave from a beast of burden. As Aristotle does point out, the structure of the natural hierarchy is grounded in the needs of daily life. The inability to recognize such needs shows the lack of a ruling element in these women. The lack existed because the island of California lies within the torrid-zone. As a result, their rational faculty has been blinded to the natural hierarchy, and as such, they have a corrupt social structure. Moreover, the Californians do not live in houses but rather caves.

Because of all of these disorders, the household, or basic unit that structures the city, conceptually, is not present amongst the Californian women. Francisco de Vitoria was another theologian and jurist that participated in the debates about the sovereignty of the peoples of the New World. He explored whether or not inhabitants of the New World, similar to the fictional Californians, met the conditions for a civil society. While Vitoria did not affirm or deny the information he presents, he implies that lack of domestic management by such peoples, like the Californian women,

could prove that they are unable to create and maintain a satisfactory society (Pagden 80). A satisfactory society is based on a set of laws that would,

...make those who observed them into good citizens and hence into virtuous men... Any code, which fails to achieve this end is, by definition, a violation of the law of nature, and would thus appear to be the works of an unsound mind... (Pagden 80).

An unsatisfactory society is a direct consequence of the mind's inability to control the passions of the body, and this condition is the result of the place of origin and its effects upon these women.

The social structure that has emerged and the laws that the Californians follow are unsatisfactory because they do not obey the natural hierarchy of existence. Rather, they cannot recognize proper social demarcations and divisions of the universe, in which men would rule over women, and man rules over beast. In the same way,

Dietary norms, like sexual ones, were a precise measure of a man's power of reason, his ability to conduct himself like a man. At the end of the *quaestio* of *De indis* which we have been discussing, Vitoria concluded that 'the same arguments may be applied to these barbarians as to simpletons (amentes) because they cannot govern themselves any better than that of the wild beasts'... (Pagden 87).

The inability to recognize divinely ordered social roles between man and woman, carries over into how the Californians cohabit with *grifos* and give them to eat human flesh.

As noted in the first chapter, during a lifetime, it was believed that the body went through various 'stages' of heat and cold in over a lifetime. Due to the lack of coolness in their development, the Californians' deliberative faculty is like that of a man during boyhood. These women are portrayed as child-like because they do not

know the difference between such hierarchical categories. On the one hand, they are lacking in a physical and intellectual capacities to comprehend those. On the other hand, they have not been given the opportunity to know the divine order of existence through the Word of God or be healed. Hence, the presence of Christians, would guarantee that these women could be taught the Gospels. Thus, they would learn rational forms of interaction between man, woman, child, slave, and beast. As such, with time, these women, unlike a natural slave, would gain their autonomy as they grew to understand them. They would not be property won in battle but wives of men, who participate in the household as mothers. No longer would they give their male offspring to *grifos* nor share their homes with these animals.

The Californian women can be likened to the barbarians of whom Aristotle writes because they too do not speak the language of Christians, or the Word of God. This is tied to their inability to recognize the natural hierarchy of the universe because they have never been exposed to the Gospels, and with climatic influence, these women have natures that have produced unjust laws and sinful customs over time. For example, in misunderstanding the natural hierarchy, shown by the Californians' cohabitation with *grifos*, these animals also share in the misguided conception of authority in the universe.

The *grifos* attack indiscriminately when being let loose upon the Christians in the initial waive against Constantinople. The *grifos* do not attack the women because they have fed them, but they do capture both pagan and Christian men alike, and lift and drop them to their deaths. It was hoped that these animals would be able to be used against the Christians to help clear the way for further attacks by the male

forces. The *grifos* do not know what or who constitutes the enemy and thus pose a threat to all, and contribute to the pagans' loss of men and the battle. Hence, the disorder of the women has had a sickening effect upon the rest of the universe because they have taught the less educated beasts to follow their example.

The confusion of the *grifos* should be balanced or compensated for by the great disparity in numbers which would favor the pagans in battle. Yet, it becomes clear that physical presence of many does not compensate against the force of divine providence and faith in Christ:

Algunos podrían poner, diciendo que no sería possible que destos altos hombres de los christianos tantas gentes por sus manos muertas fuesen, teniendo en la memoria aver visto algunas batallas que muy diferentes destas les parecieron. Mas yo, queriendo quitar a la escriptura de aquella mengua o menoscabo que de tal la duda seguíresele podría, digo que la causa dello fue que, comoquiera que estas gentes de los paganos infinitas fuesen, todas las más eran de baxa condición, acompañados de gran pobreza, que como ya se vos dixo no alcançavan casi armas ningunas; que muchos dellos no traían sino una lança, y otros un arco, y otros palos ferrados y porras, que para entre ellos aquellas bastavan que entre sí avían. Lo que por el contrario les acaeció a los christianos, que , comoquiera que mucho menos fuesen y alcançassen el metal de fierro en gran abundancia, que a los más de los otros faltava, tenían mejor aparejo de hazer aquellas armas con que más seguros en la afrenta pudiessen entrar. Assí que por esta causa, los unos armados y los otros desarmados, no podían en igual grado pasar (Montalvo 783).

Some could put, saying it could not be possible that of these large men of the Christians so many people by their hands were killed, having in memory to have seen some battles very different from these they seemed. But I, desiring to take out of writing of that decline or impairment that of which doubt could continue, I say the cause of that was that, however that these people of the infinite pagans were there, all of the others were of low condition, accompanied with great poverty, which was said to you did not attain almost any arms; which many of them did not bring but a lance, and others a bow, and others iron sticks and hammers, which for among them they were enough that between them they did have. That which for the contrary befell the Christians, which however that many less there were and attained iron

metal in great abundance, which to them more of the others lacked and they had better preparation to use those arms with which more secure in the confrontation they could enter. In this way, for this reason, these few armed and the other unarmed, could not in bows equal degrees pass.

Based on comparison with other battles, it is unexpected that so many pagans could be killed by so few Christians. Emphasis is placed on the poor appearance of the multitudes of pagans, who hold weak or insufficient arms. They have come in large groups to fight with lances, sticks, and a few with bows and arrows. These arms are described as sufficient for battles amongst the other non-Christians, but not for waging battle against the few and powerful Christian knights, who yield arms made of iron. The pagans are portrayed as having primitive forms of battle and weaponry, such that no matter how many of them, their efforts will be fruitless against the superior civilized warriors.

The women, like their animals, do not know the enemy. They have been permitted to fight with pagans in a battle against Constantinople and Christianity. By using their power and animals without understanding what the consequences of such actions will be, the women are not only a threat to Christians, but to pagans and themselves. Califa learns of Armato's struggle against the Christians to takeover Constantinople. In hopes of gaining fame and glory, Califa convinces her subjects to join the non-Christian forces and come to the aid of Armato.

Although she is unfamiliar with Christianity, the queen desires to see the world and to prove the skills of her warriors against an unknown enemy. Califa asks the various other pagan leaders to let her and the other women to lead an attack upon the Christians. The other groups were to wait for the queen to signal for the male

forces to later enter the battle once the women had secured the way. Even though the women do not willfully reject the Word of God, they do attack the Christians in order to aid their pagan enemies. Hence, it would be acceptable for Christians to act with force to subdue these women warriors, in order to defend themselves. In this case, the Californians would become civil slaves because they had lost in just war. Once the Californians have been subjugated, they are educated about the divine laws of the universe. The women learn Christian teachings and laws by living among other followers over time, similar to Frandalo and other converted pagans. The difference lies in the fact that these women are not natural slaves.

The ultimate priority is to establish a propagandistic undercurrent of the triumph of Christians in a providentially designed history. Those that do not serve Christian authority or God live outside the natural order, and are sinful and diseased. As a result, Fortune, which is the contrary force that intercedes when Christianity is not the guiding faith of a character, brings about non-Christians' physical defeat because of their transgressions. Defeat happens to both pagans and believers alike, as in the case of Amadís losing to Esplandián in battle because he sought glory and honor for himself and not God.

Calaiifa too is also a warrior, like Amadís, who because she has yet to accept and follow the Word of God, is still subject to her bodily passions and the desire for worldly gratification. In fact, she has heard marvelous things of the beauty of a young knight within the band of Christians. A servant of hers returns to the queen after delivering a message to Esplandián's camp, in which she describes his physique.

‘¡O, reina! ¿Qué te diré, sin que si él en nuestra ley fuesse podríamos creer que nuestros dioses con sus manos lo avían hecho, poniendo en

la tal obra todo su gran poder y mucho saber, sin que nada dello quedasse?’ (Montalvo 756).

‘Oh Queen! What can I tell you, except that if he were under our law, we would believe that our gods had created him with their hands, putting into such a work all their great power and much knowledge without which any of it remained?’

Because of the ravishing description from her servant, Calaifa dresses in her finest jewels and robes to visit the Christian enemies’ camp and to see Esplandián’s beauty for herself. Calaifa sees Esplandián and is immediately drawn to him with a force she has never felt before. Nevertheless, she reminds herself of the dishonor would face if suddenly captured by love. She refuses to surrender to become a subject of this Christian knight due to her feminine affections:

E teniendo él fincados sus graciosos ojos en su faz, ella sintió que aquellos rayos que de su resplandeciente hermosura salían, hiriendo en sus ojos, le penetraron al corazón, de manera que, no siendo fasta entonces vencido con la gran fuerça de armas ni con las grandes afrentas de los enemigos, fue con aquella vista y pasión amorosa tan ablandado, tan quebrantado como si entre maços de hierro anduviera. E como assí se vido, considerando que de la más luenga estada inconvenie[n]te le podría venir para aquella gran fama que con tantos peligros y trabajos como varonil caballero ganado avía, que quedando en gran menoscabo de desonra sería tornada y convertida en aquella natural flaqueza de que la Natura a las mujeres ornar o dotar quiso; e resistiendo con gran pena a que la voluntad a la razón sujeta fuesse, se levantó... (Montalvo 759).

And having he focused his gracious eyes on her face, she felt that those rays of his splendid beauty left him, boiling in her eyes, penetrated her heart, in such a way, not being until then vanquished with the great strength of arms nor with the great affronts of enemies, was with that sight and amorous passion so softened, so broken as if among iron mallets she walked. And as it thus happened, considering that of the most far inconvenient state could come [to her] for that great fame with so many dangers and works as the manly knight had won, that remaining in great detriment of dishonor she would be turned and converted in that natural weakness of that Nature to women wanted to decorate or give; and resisting with great pain so that her will subject to reason were, she stood up...

In other words, Calafia resists her attraction to Esplandián, which comes from the natural design of the universe. In order to guard her pride, she goes against natural order.

Calafia is attracted to Esplandián's physical beauty. Yet the Queen desires to obtain his affections through her own beauty and strength. Calafia's vestments and precious jewels are exotic and attractive as well. Esplandián is repulsed by her unnatural desire to use her physique and strength to combat and obtain authority over men:

Que comoquiera que por cosa estraña la mirasse y hermosa le pareciesse, pero viéndola puesta en armas, siguiendo el diverso estilo que siendo natural muger servir devía, aviéndolo por muy desonesto que aquella que por boca de Dios le fue mandado que en sujección del varón fuesse, procurasse ella lo contrario, en querer ser señora de todos los varones, no por discreción, mas por fuerça de armas (y sobre todo ser infiel, a quien él mortalmen[te] desamava y avía voluntad de destruir), desvióse (Montalvo 760).

That in whatever way that for strange thing he looked at her and she seemed beautiful to him, but seeing her dressed in arms, following the diverse style that being natural woman should serve having it for very dishonest that she that by the mouth of God was commanded that in subjugation of man was, procured the contrary, in wanting to be queen of all men, not by discretion, but by forcé of arms (and overall to be infidel, to whom he mortally disliked and had will to destroy), he averted himself.

Esplandián's conclusion is that he cannot reason with the queen, and allows for his father to interact with Calafia.

Calafia then challenges Amadís and Esplandián to a battle between she and another soldier, Radiaro, a servant of a pagan king, Liquia. Radiaro is immediately defeated by Esplandián. At the same time, Amadís preaches to Calafia about the natural hierarchy. He explains that the Christian knights fight to protect women from

the attacks of the unjust. Yet again, Calaiifa rejects her place in the providential design of the universe and attacks Amadís. She is quickly beaten and surrenders (Montalvo 765). Calaiifa and Radario are sent to Leonarina, the daughter of the Christian emperors and Esplandián's love pursuit, as gifts. Leonarina then asks for Amadís and Esplandián to visit the court. After the man to (wo)man combat, a grand battle erupts upon the shores of Constantinople between all of the pagan forces and the Christians.

The battle is won by the Christians, and Calaiifa, due to such a defeat, is now their prisoner. Calaiifa confesses that she is not a captive of war, but of her heart. The queen is in love with Esplandián:

'La Fortuna me traxo a estas partes donde pensé muchos captivos llevar; yo soy capturada. No digo desta prisión en que me veis... mas entiéndese por la prisión de mi corazón muy cuitado y atribulado en que la gran hermosura deste nuevo emperador, en el momento que mis ojos lo miraron, me puso... Mas cuando fui ante la presencia desta emperatriz hermosa, por dicho tuve, que conviniendo lo uno y lo otro en igual grado, que quedando por vanidad mis pensamientos esto la razón lo guiaría en lo que está. E pues que mi fortuna inmortal pensó hazer mi pasión, yo, poniendo todas mis fuerças en su olvido... si os pluguiere, tomar otro por marido, que hijo de rey sea... Y seré christiana, porque como yo aya visto la orden tan ordenada de vuestra ley, y la gran desorden de las otras, muy bien claro se me muestra ser por vosotros seguida la verdad, y por nosotros la mentira y falsedad,' (Montalvo 799-800).

Fortune brought me to these parts where I thought many captives to take; I am captured. I do not say of the prison in which you see me... rather understand for the prison of my heart very troubled and afflicted in that great beauty of this new emperor, in the moment that my eyes saw him, put me.... And when I went before the presence of this beautiful empress, for said I had, that suiting one another in equal degree, that remaining by vanity my thoughts this reason would guide it in that which is. And thus that my immortal fortune thought to make my mission, I, putting all my strengths in its being forgotten... if were to please you, to take other for husband, that be a son of a king... And I will be Christian because as I have seen the order so ordinate of your

law, and the great disorder of others, very clear it is shown to me by you to be followed the truth, and by us lies and falsity.

Calaifa desires Esplandián, but he has married Leonarina and become the new Christian emperor of Constantinople. As a prisoner of war, Calaifa is obligated to do as commanded and convert because she was beaten in battle. Nevertheless, Calaifa explains that she has learned through her interactions with Christians, God's design of the universe.

Calaifa, initially could be categorized as a natural slave because she and her subjects are from a geographical zone that renders them inferior to Christians both physically and intellectually. However, the Californians' condition is not of a natural slave or property of Christians. As women, they are to have husbands and children, as God has made them, to be members of the household. Their gender differentiates the Californians and would be women conquered in later battles from pagans like Matroco and Frandalo, who are both civil and natural slaves. As the household and family are the basic structure for the civic body, these women must be returned, even forcefully to a state of natural law, as their ruler has negated to do so. Once conquered, these women convert and marry, submitting to men, as naturally superior to rule over them. Women conquered in battle would be civil slaves, but in such, after accepting the faith, are subject to men through paternal rule, and do not serve an economic force nor are their husbands masters. They are companions of their husbands, who will serve the crown and God. For example, Esplandián will be served by Leonarina, his wife, as an extension of his will, by acting in the way that he commands.

Calaifa, in her process of understanding and conversion through exposure to the Word of God, has accepted her place in the natural hierarchy and will marry. Because she cannot marry Esplandián, she asks to wed another Christian knight of equal stature. She marries Talanque, who is Esplandián's cousin and king of Sobradisa. Calaifa also asks that her sister also be married to a Christian knight, and she is wed to Manelli the Measured, cousin of Talanque and king of Cildadán.

After the nuptials, Calaifa agrees to serve her husband, and she and Talanque will reign together as Christian monarchs over Sobradisa and the island of California. Californian women will be converted to Christianity and marry just as Calaifa's sister has done. The social structure, based upon the natural hierarchy, is integrated into the Christian social body based on civic standing within their previous society. The Californians will have children and follow paternal, not herile rule as would natural slaves, and the *grifos* will be now treated as beasts of burden. These women will continue to fight alongside their husbands in the process of combating pagans, but not based upon an evaluation of their intellectual and physical aptitudes. Their femininity takes precedence in the order of God, whereas Frandalo is brought into the social body and is a civil and natural slave to Christianity and its leaders.

Returning to geography, one sees that those from the temperate corridor wield power and arms skillfully, and triumph over those non-Christians that are larger in body and fiercer in might because of their faith. God's design of the universe entails a plan to provide Christians from temperate zones with the revelation of the order of the world. Even though the Christians are temperate by nature, Calaifa, Matroco, and Frandalo have exceptional military prowess and strength. Yet they are no match to

the superior strength of God's might provided to the Christians. The Christians have the capacity to accept and follow God's order as well as the materials and intellectual abilities to forge weapons and use them effectively. In the case of the two giants of the Persian empire, they are classified as pagans because they have openly rejected the Word of God. However, the Californians are true infidels because they had no prior knowledge of Christ although both terms might be interchangeable. Both 'kinds' of non-Christians are from geographically distant zones that are, by latitude and ontology, associated with Sub-Saharan Africa, or 'Ethiopia.'

These verisimilar figures are constructed out of geographical and medical knowledge and linked directly to the religious and political threats of the Muslim empires in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This link is used to represent Matroco, Frandalo, and Calaiifa, as physically and spiritually diseased because of their places of origin and their notions of space and time. Such notions are portrayed as a manifestation of whether or not they believe in Christianity and are civilized. Ultimately their kinds of dispositions and ability to overcome them are used to show how their violent subjugation and forced conversion are legitimate forms of protection and even altruistic necessity. Those who professed sincere acts of conversion to Catholicism are accepted into the Christian social body. As a result, they are granted physical and spiritual salvation; in other words, survival and guidance under a continued Castilian presence.

Non-Christians' ability to be misguided necessitated the presence of a ruling Christian authority to teach them faith and natural law. Exploration and conquest served to assure that Christians were protected from precisely this situation, in which

all pagan forces could band together to attack Christian Europe. There is a direct reference to the historical fall of Constantinople, and the feared threat of the unification of Muslims of Northern Africa and the Ottoman Turks. With the Indies having been discovered, it would be possible that there were even more non-Christians, who could be led astray and join forces of sin in attacks against the Church and its followers.

During conquest and expansion in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, text was used to reaffirm a hierarchical grid, in which Christ was at the apex. Then, those from the Mediterranean basin placed themselves directly beneath him. In descending order, those that lived furthest from Christ's earthly realm were most ill. They were spiritually diseased because of the geographical distance from the temperate corridor having unbalanced their bodies (Wey Gómez 287). And yet, as Wey Gómez points out, with the amassing of cosmographical information, the notions of geographical bounds of the globe transformed markedly during the first forty years of the conquest. Not only was it discovered that the Mediterranean was not a temperate corridor but that Spain lay to the North of the Tropic of Cancer (401). Therefore, returning to medical conceptions, this would make its its inhabitants less temperate than those of the New World (399). How then, could war legitimately be made on those who according to already existing medical notions were more tempered to rule?

Thus, we see how representation in narrative was a fundamental means by which to equate the practice of Christianity with civility and even humanity. Nevertheless, a biological conception of the body and humanity was not being

delineated. Instead, learning of the Word of God by which man was supposed to exist was promoted. Conveniently, Christians were from temperate regions and thus portrayed two fold as superior. The use of an overarching grid based on regional identity was destabilized by the discovery of the Iberian Peninsula's actual location (Wey Gómez 399-401). Still, representation was used to piece parts of already existing knowledge together to create convincing and comprehensible images of non-Christians as needing to be subdued. Stories emerged of how conquistadors had interacted with different peoples. Their heroic actions were supposed to be used as guides for others in their future endeavors. In this way, non-Christians' behaviors were linked to geographical regions and spiritual disease so that often times violence could be carried out pragmatically in the name of providence.

Chapter 3: Chapter 3: Breaking New Ground and Breaking the Molds in Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*

In the last chapter, I explored how Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo utilized medical discourse to resemantize chivalric values within narrative representation in order to serve the political agenda of the Catholic Kings. In *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, characters were created linking their mental and physical capacities to their places of origin. In the sixteenth century, it was believed that because of peoples differing places of origin each had a different kind of nature. With his construction of characters, Montalvo promotes the use of one's strengths of their disposition to carry out service in the name of God and his vicars on earth, which conveniently are Ferdinand and Isabel. Because the Mediterranean basin was thought to be the most temperate region on the globe, medical notions were used to imply that those from Castile were the most apt to rule.

However, those who did not serve Christian rulers or their God were represented as living outside natural order. This was done by linking such non-Christian peoples to distant lands, which had greater climatic extremes. As a result, the non-Christians in Montalvo's text are portrayed as manifesting imbalanced humors caused by those extremes, and therefore as having diseased and sinful

natures. Hence, because of God's design of the universe, Christians will triumph over non-Christians due to their temperate natures and their choice to use their strengths in the service of God.

Non-Christians are each given a choice to convert to Christianity rather than perish in battle. Those who do convert sincerely are offered salvation, both on a spiritual and physical level. Thus, on the one hand, medical discourse is used to reaffirm the superior ability of Castilians and their legitimacy to rule because of their temperate dispositions. On the other hand, Montalvo utilizes the notion of *Christus Medicus*, in which Christ is understood as both remedy and physician, to emphasize the need for choice to overcome disease. By this, any who choose to follow Christ will accept his teachings and at the same time be healed. In essence, people's words and actions are demonstrations of the same physical reality. In *Esplandián*, the giant Frandalo was healed of his wounds as soon as he converted to Christianity. If one professed false belief in Christ, one could not hope to be healed. Matroco, another non-Christian enemy of Esplandián, converted but died of his injuries because he did not truly accept the teachings of Christ. In this way, Montalvo emphasizes the exercise of free will to overcome non-Christianity. The choice to be healed had to be followed by action, or words would be empty, and thus salvation would be lost and death would follow.

In Montalvo's novel, non-Christians are presented as emerging from lands near the Far East and the Indies. As discussed in the last chapter, these peoples are from heterotopias, or fictional elsewheres, where their actions in the land towards each other and towards Christians determine the legitimacy of their sovereignty over

the space. Esplandián travels to La Montaña Defendida, located ‘somewhere’ on the Arabian Peninsula, and does battle with a series of non-Christian giants. These giants are created using ontological perceptions of peoples from areas of the same latitudinal parallel. Hence, notions from already existing documentation about non-Christian enemies were pieced together to construct a plausible future one.

In this way, readers were given a guide of how to interact with new threats from non-Christians, particularly when arriving to the Indies. The Californians, from east of the Indies, “a diestra mano de las Indias” (Montalvo 727)/ “to the right hand of the Indies,” are represented as having similar attributes and natures to those of the Arabian giants. They also attack Christians without knowing why. Their violent subjugation is not only an act of defense but also one of altruism. The Christians offer the Californians salvation through protection from themselves. In the final battle for Constantinople, even though all non-Christian forces, both pagan and infidel alike, unite against the Christian empire, God provides victory to all that are in his service. The Christians win the battle, and Esplandián rises to the throne of Christian emperor because of his unwavering faith. Thus, Montalvo promotes absolute dedication to God through continual service to the Christian monarchs, who are guaranteed victory and salvation through providence.

In this chapter, I will explore how Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca appropriates this same medical discourse and chivalric trope to provide an overarching structure in his narrative of his nine-year journey throughout the New World. In this way, Cabeza de Vaca is able to represent his survival of such hardship as a triumph, which he

achieved through his constant faith in God and his tale of it as a service to his king.¹⁹ In *Esplandián*, the characters are fictional constructs created from pieces of many non-Christian enemies and Montalvo's experiences in the War of Granada. The characters also originate from a series of fictional places located near to actual places. Plausibly then, the natures of these characters would be understood as similar to actual non-Christian peoples from distant lands that had already been encountered.

In contrast to Montalvo, Cabeza de Vaca does not write about fictional peoples or places. Instead he was charged as royal treasurer of Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition, which set sail from Cuba in 1527 to Florida and Río de Las Palmas, but would not return. Because of Cabeza de Vaca's role as treasurer, his duty was to report continuously to the emperor, Charles V, on all transactions of the expedition. Precise information was to be provided about expenses, income, and places where precious stones and minerals could be found. Also, Cabeza de Vaca was to report on the level of execution of the king's orders and the treatment of the Indians (Adorno and Pautz 1, 374-375).

The descriptions Cabeza de Vaca provides of peoples' bodies and dispositions are thus based on actual relationships to their places of origin. These inhabitants and their lands were to be evaluated with regard to their value to the crown. Thus, the encounters that Cabeza de Vaca had and recorded can be viewed through the same medical and economic hierarchy as in *Esplandián*, with Charles as the earthly ruler of Christ's empire. Cabeza de Vaca evaluates non-Christians and their lands in terms of

¹⁹ For an in-depth analysis of how Cabeza de Vaca utilizes a chivalric trope with respect to geohumoral theory in his *Relación*, see Ralph Bauer's *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

the value they would bring to the crown. He also evaluates his fellow Christian shipmates according to their willingness to serve the king and dedication to God.

In fact, survival is the true testament of the remaining four Christians' faith. For this reason, Cabeza de Vaca writes in his dedicatory note, that the information he provides is a form of service in itself because he can do no more than offer the recounting of his Christian actions so that others would follow him and not perish:

... para si en algún tiempo Dios nuestro Señor quisiese traerme adonde agora estoy, pudiesse dar testigo de mi voluntad y servir a Vuestra Magestad... como la relación dello es aviso, a mi parescer no liviano, para los que en su nombre fueren a conquistar aquellas tierras; y untamente traerlos a conocimiento de la verdadera fe y verdadero Señor y servicio de Vuestra Magestad... A la qual supplica la resciba en nombre de servicio, pues éste solo es el que un hombre que salió desnudo pudo sacar consigo (1, 18-20).

This I did so that if at some time our Lord God should wish to bring me to the place where I am now, I would be able to bear witness to my will and serve Your Majesty, in as much as the account of it all is, in my opinion, information not trivial for those who in your name might go to conquer those lands at the same time bring them to knowledge of the true faith and the true Lord and service to Your Majesty... I ask that it be received in the name of service, because this alone is what a man who came away naked could carry out with him (19-21).²⁰

In the same manner, those who read the tale could draw on it as a guide in their future endeavors. Using the ethnographical information in it, they could hope to survive and also to better serve Christ and crown by following the modeled Christian code of conduct.

According to Cabeza de Vaca, the Narváez expedition was blown by a storm towards Florida. Because of the faulty sense of direction of Miruelo, the pilot, the

²⁰ Translations of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* are from Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz's *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

ship did not land at Río de Las Palmas. As a result, Narváez sent several expeditions out in search of the port. The port itself was problematic, as Río de Las Palmas existed on both the north and south side of the Gulf of Mexico at the time of the expedition. These two locations were shown on the map of Cortés's conquest of Mexico in *Praeclara Fernandi Cortesii de nova maris oceani Hispania narratio* by Pierre Savorgananus, published in 1524 in Nuremburg (Winsor 404). Cortés had landed at Río de Las Palmas near Espíritu Santo on the southern shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Based on the capitulations stating that the governor had jurisdiction over Florida, Narváez's expedition has always been explored in connection with the northerly locations of both Espíritu Santo and Río de Las Palmas. Nevertheless, the descriptions of the peoples Cabeza de Vaca provides in relation to medical theory call into question such cartographical anomalies. Based on the location of Florida, it would be logical to believe Narváez was sailing to take control of the northerly Espíritu Santo.

Relying on information from Indians near to where they landed, Narváez wanted to go inland in search of a province, Palachen/ Apalachen, where there was supposed to be much bounty and gold. At the same time, Narváez ordered that the ships should go along the coast until they find the port, believing Río de Las Palmas nearby (Cabeza de Vaca 41). In another cartographic anomaly, Apalache appears also in Cortés's *Fifth Letter*, when he writes about his journey from Espíritu Santo along the Río Coatzacoalcos to lake of Apolochic, located in Guatemala.²¹ Thus, in

²¹ In Cortés's *Fifth Letter*, he describes his route from Espíritu Santo to Apolochic: "And so it pleased Our Lord that after walking two leagues through some very attractive plantations of peanuts and other fruit trees they came upon the main river which the guides said was the one which flowed to the lake where I had left the boats; and they told us its name, which is Apolochic" (401). Today, this lake is

the text, it is thought the men are near the Mississippi River, and yet there is a reference to a southerly location already traversed by Cortés, which does not correspond with the capitulations of the king for Narváez's jurisdiction. Despite the ambiguity that these documents suggest, Cabeza de Vaca shows above all his reluctance towards this plan. He is hesitant because the pilots did not agree on their location, the horses were in poor condition, they could hardly communicate with the Indians, they knew nothing of the land, and they did not have adequate provisions (41). Cabeza de Vaca then suggests they set sail and search for another port and a land better for settling because they had found this place to be poor and unpopulated.

Cabeza de Vaca's opposing opinion to Narváez leads the reader to question the governor's judgment because there is no economic reason to stay in the region. The only information the men had about the province came from Indians, with whom they could barely speak. Rather than continue with the original plan of going to Río de Las Palmas in order to settle the land, harvest the resources, and govern in the name of the king, Narváez chooses to go in search of new wealth in Palachen. In this way, Narváez rejects his promise to the crown and to God. He does not follow the royal capitulations of the king. Moreover, the governor puts royal resources, such as his men and ships, in jeopardy. While Narváez's word is now cast in doubt, Cabeza de Vaca portrays himself as maintaining his promise to serve by asking the governor to follow course and to protect royal interests and resources. However, the governor was not dissuaded, and many men supported him.

also known as the lake of Izabal, located in Guatemala, which is connected to the Bahía de Amatique and Río Dulce. Río Polochic runs from Guatemala, into this lake, or Lake Izabal, and then into the Bay.

Narváez uses this support against Cabeza de Vaca, suggesting that he take charge of the boats and wait there for him if he cared so much for them (Cabeza de Vaca 45). In this case, Cabeza de Vaca decides not to accept the offer because he had been told he had no right to make demands of his governor and also knew he would possibly never see the crew again. In the chivalric code, one must obey one's superior, and here Cabeza de Vaca chooses to follow his governor into danger. Moreover, as a knight, one was expected to fight to protect the king and his empire, made up by his fellow shipmates. For this reason, Cabeza de Vaca chooses not to guard the ships but rather to keep his honor intact and accompany the crew in order to do battle with them. Again, Narváez is portrayed as a leader, who not only would jeopardize the king's men but now is also willing to lead Cabeza de Vaca astray, by asking him to abandon his role of protecting other fellow Christians. Here, even though Cabeza de Vaca does abandon the king's ships, his choice to expose himself to danger as the others would is portrayed as an act of deference to the natural hierarchy as well as one in defense of his friends.

Nonetheless, in their search for Palachen, the men encounter unending hardships, including repeated attacks by Indians, illness, cold, and hunger. After many days of walking inland, the Narváez expedition encountered Duchanchellin, an Indian lord (Cabeza de Vaca 50). Duchanchellin aids Narváez's men as they go south, 'hacia abajo', towards the land of his enemy, through unpopulated lands. He also helps them to cross a very wide river with strong currents to arrive at Apalache. However, as Alex Krieger explains, when the men arrived,

Apalache turned out to consist of but forty small houses and contained no gold. The village did have large stores of maize... They remained

in Apalache for twenty-five days. Although it was summer and we cannot doubt that the expedition was somewhere in northern Florida or perhaps the southern edge of Georgia, Cabeza de Vaca makes one of his puzzling remarks that 'the land is very cold' (Appendix 1, Chapter 7). Narváez took captive a chief who told them that Apalache was the largest town in the area and that other towns were much poorer but that to the south near the sea was a town called Aute where there was much food (24).

Cabeza de Vaca makes special note of the coolness of the land, which was also documented in Oviedo. "Avia en aquella poblacion quarenta casas pequeñas é muy abrigadas, por el mucho frio é tempestades que en aquella tierra haçe," (584)/ "There were among that population forty well insulated houses because of the great cold and many storms that occurred in the land," (my translation). (134). From Palachen, where Narváez's men stayed and explored for 25 days, they continued south for 9 days, passing through difficult terrain, with hostile Indians, poor grasslands, forests, and many lagoons (Cabeza de Vaca 59-61).

Eventually, the men will arrive at the place called Aute. Cabeza de Vaca described these peoples as very skilled and powerful archers:

En esta rebuelta hubo algunos de los nuestros heridos que no les valieron buenas armas que llevavan, y hubo hombres este día que juraron que avían visto dos robles, cada uno dellos tran grueso como la pierna por baxo, pasados de parte a parte de las flechas de los indios, y esto no es tanto de maravillar vista la fuerça y maña con que las echan, porque yo mismo vi una flecha en un pie de un álamo que entrea por él un xeme. Quontos indios vimos desde la Florida aquí todos son flecheros, y como son crescidos de cuerpo y andan desnudos, desde lexos paresçen gigantes. Es gente a maravilla bien dispuesta, muy enxutos y de muy grandes fuerças y ligereza (1, 62).

In this struggle there were some of our wounded who could not make good use of the good weapons they carried, and there were men this day who swore that they had seen two oaks, each one of them as thick as a man's lower leg, pierced through and through by the arrows of the Indians, and this is not to be wondered at, having seen the strength and skill with which they shoot... All the Indians we had seen from Florida

to here are archers, and as they are of large build and go about naked, from a distance, they appear as giants. They are a people wonderfully built, very lean and of great strength and agility (63).

As Cabeza de Vaca explains, all of the peoples they encountered from Florida up to this point are of a similar build and nature (63).²² The Indians are described as having large and strong bodies, as well as being skilled at battle.

In *Esplandián*, these characteristics are given to the giants from the Arabian Peninsula and California that had been exposed to great heat and humidity causing their overgrowth. In the same way, heat could lead one to deviance as well as having military prowess. Unlike in the novel, Cabeza de Vaca notes that the land is poor, with little maize, frioles, and squash as well as intermittent forests (60). There is no mention of heat, but Cabeza de Vaca does repeat over and over the presence of lagoons and rivers, through which they must cross, as well as the sea. For example, when traveling towards Aute, Narváez's men encountered Río Magdalena, which let into the sea:

... el gobernador me rogó que fuesse a descubrir la mar, pues los indios dezían que estava tan cerca de allí; ya en este camino la avíamos descubierto por un río muy grande que en él hallamos, a quien avíamos puesto por nombre el Río de la Magdalena (Cabeza de Vaca 1,64).

... the governor beseeched me to go look for the sea, because the Indians said it was very near there; along this route we had already discovered it by means of a very great river that we had found on this path, which we had named Río de la Magdalena (65).

There are several cartographic anomalies that exist with regards to Río Magdalena.

On the Hernando Colón map, La madalena was an inlet on the northern side of the

Gulf of Mexico that Adorno and Pautz suggest is a river that flows into the Apalachee

²² Cabeza de Vaca's reference to 'here' is noted by Rolena Adorno and Charles Patrick Pautz to be somewhere on the northern half of the west coast of the Florida Peninsula (1,63).

Bay (e.g. Aucilla, Sant Marks, Ochlokonee) (1, 65, n4). A second Río de la Magdalena existed in the territory of what is now present day Colombia, very near to Santa Marta, a site earlier proposed by Narváez for an expedition (Arranz- Márques 396). A third reference to this river was made by Magellan and his crew passed through the channel called Santa María that flows through Tierra del Fuego into the Pacific Ocean, documented by fellow shipmate Antonio Pigafetta.

As also noted in the first chapter, not all characteristics of those peoples portrayed in the text corresponded one to one with environmental factors. As a result, the reason bodies and dispositions were built in such a way could have been attributed to the combination of interests that the writer had at the moment. Curiously, the skilled military prowess of the Indians and their cruelty are two attributes that according to medical theory corresponded with peoples of southern latitudes. Cabeza de Vaca provides a causal explanation for the inability of the Castilians to use their weapons well against the agile Indians. By showing their lack of strength when combating the Indians, he questions their faith in God and loyalty to the crown. Here the author emphasizes the superior skill of the Indians in fighting whereas the wounded men of the expedition were not adept at battle:

En este tiempo algunos andavan cogiendo marisco por los rincones y entradas de la mar, en que los indios en dos vezes dieron en ellos nos mataron diez hombres a vista del real sin que los pudiésemos socorrer, los quales hallamos de parte a parte pasados con flechas que, aunque algunos tenían buenas armas, no bastaron a resistir para que esto no hiziesse, por flechar con tanta destreza y fuerça... (1, 72).

During this time, some went about gathering shellfish in the inlets and coves of the sea, and on the two occasions on which the Indians attacked them, they killed ten of our men within sight of camp without our being able to prevent this from happening because the Indians shot arrows with as much skill and force... (73).

Had the men been following God's plan and serving the crown, not only should they have been healed from their wounds, but they should also have been able to defeat the Indians. The Castilians do not recognize their inability to conquer the Indians as a divine signal that they have shown apostasy and inconstancy for which they are being punished. As such behaviors continue, so too do the crew members' struggles intensify.

Because of the extreme misery the men face, their loyalty to the group already faltered. Cabeza de Vaca confronted these men and reminded them of their chivalric duties based on their good birth and their duty to the governor and the king (69).²³ Unity amongst Christians, as well as service to God and crown in exchange for earthly and celestial rewards were at the heart of the chivalric code of conduct. Based on this code, the outcome of the many difficulties which the Spaniards faced is contingent on the integrity of the group. Going in search of personal interest would jeopardize one and all.

The men built rafts to sail along the coastal inlets, having used parts of their horses to build barges and part as food. Cabeza de Vaca explains that "The bay from which we departed is called the Bay of Horses," which Adorno and Pautz locate as some point along the coast in the Apalachee Bay (1, 75). Krieger states that Narváez's men were most likely still in search of Pánuco and unaware of the distance from their desired location. However, in yet another ambiguity that might derive from cartographic information at the time of the expedition, Puerto Cortés was previously called Bahía de Caballos (Hall and Brignoli 7). Also, there existed

²³ See previous chapters for a more in-depth discussion on the notion of a Christian code of chivalric conduct.

another port, Puerto Cabello, which was located near where Caracas would later be founded (See Hall and Brignoli 136 and Early 67).

Because of the dangers continually befalling the Castilians, the men's unity crumbles. Cabeza describes a scene on the sea, in which the men face attacks from the Indians as well as storms, cold, thirst, and starvation:

La última vez se pusieron en celada los capitanes Dorantes y Peñalosa y Téllez con quinze hombres. Y dieron en ellos por las espaldas y de tal manera les hizieron huir que nos dexaron. Otro día de mañana yo les rompí más de treinta canoas que nos aprovecharon para un Norte que hazía, que por todo el día ovimos de estar allí con mucho frío sin osar entrar en la mar por la mucha tormenta que en ella avía. Esto passado nos tornamos a embarcar, y navegamos tres días. Y como avíamos tomado poca agua y los vasos que teníamos para llevar assimesmo eran muy pocos, tornamos a caer en la primera necesidad (1, 82).

The last time, Captains Dorantes and Peñalosa and Téllez hid themselves with fifteen men in ambush. And they attacked them from behind and in that way made them flee and leave us. The next morning I broke up more than thirty of their canoes, which were of use to us against the cold of the north wind, since we had to be there the entire day, being very cold, without daring to enter the sea because of the great storm that was upon it. This having passed, we embarked again and sailed for three days. And since we had brought little water, and the vessels that we had to carry it likewise were very few, we again found ourselves in the first of all necessities (83).

In yet another scene, the men are divided into groups in rafts, with some having more strength than others. Cabeza de Vaca's raft had men with less strength than those of Narváez's raft. When trying to keep up with Narváez, Cabeza de Vaca asks if they may attach themselves to his raft. Narváez responds cruelly to Cabeza de Vaca, when he asks what they are to do to save themselves:

... que ya no era tiempo de mandar unos a otros, que cada uno hiziesse lo que mejor le pareciesse que era para salvar la vida, que él ansí lo entendía de hazer. Y diciendo esto se alargó con su barca (1, 90).

... it was no longer time for man to rule another, that each one should do whatever seemed best to him in order to save his own life, [and] that he intended so to do it. And saying this he veered away with his raft... (91).

Both his men and Narváez choose survival over the well-being of each other, which is contrary to the exemplary code of conduct demonstrated by Esplandián and his men. With Narváez's actions, the unity of the group has completely disintegrated.

Ironically, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the sixteenth century thinker, who participated in the debates about the rights of Indians, used a similar concept in order to theoretically legitimize conquest in the New World. Sepúlveda used Aristotle to classify those who could not maintain social order as types of barbarians that should be subjugated because they cannot rule themselves. In this case, it is not the Indians but the Castilians who have become barbaric, as Bartolomé de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas and defender of the rights of Indians, would explain:

La tercera especie de bárbaro, tomando la palabra en sentido propio y estricto, es la de los hombres que por su carácter impío y muy malo o por la esterilidad de la tierra que habitan son crueles, feroces, tontos, incultos y carentes de razón, que no se gobiernan por leyes ni derecho y no cultivan la Amistad ni el estado ni tienen una sociedad política razonablemente constituida, es más, carecen de soberano, leyes e instituciones... no hay quien valore las buenas acciones, aliente la virtud y castigue los vicios... Contra éstos el Filósofo cita un reproche de Homero contra cierta persona a la que llama 'incivil' por su carácter malvado; y también vive solo, sin nadie cerca de él, pues tendría tal comportamiento que no podría establecer ni mantener Amistad ni convivencia. Le llama 'fuera de la ley,' porque no obedecía a ley ninguna; le llama inquieto y peleón y en fin, impío y criminal... (*Apologética* 22).

The third species of barbarian, taking the word in its proper and strict sense, is that of men that because of their impious and very bad character or because of the sterility of the land that they live in are cruel, ferocious, stupid, uncouth, and lacking in reason, that do not govern themselves with laws or rights and do not cultivate Friendship or state or do they have a reasonably constituted political society, and

what's more, they lack a leader, laws, and institutions... there is no one who values good actions, breathes virtue and punishes vices. Against these the Philosopher cites a reproach of Homer against a certain person he calls 'uncivil' because of their wicked character, and also lives alone, without anyone near him, because he would have such behavior that he could not establish or maintain Friendship or coexistence. They call him 'outside the law', because he did not obey any law; they call him anxious and aggressive in the end, impious and criminal.

The governor and the other Castilians of his raft no longer are able to maintain an established order or rule of law. Narváez abandons his role as leader, stating that conditions living amongst each other were insurmountable. By rejecting the social and juridical hierarchy established by the crown, the men go against the king and God. As a result, they are no longer guaranteed physical salvation because they have chosen spiritual disease through disunity. The boats of the expedition are then separated and many die. Cabeza de Vaca attributed these men's survival to their continual faith and dedication to God.

The men are reunited on a small island, which Cabeza de Vaca names Malhado. Eighty men from the barges eventually found themselves on two different ends of the island, and there Cabeza de Vaca would be reunited with Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo. Of these men, only fifteen would survive there. Oviedo also refers to an island where the men are reunited, attempt to repair rafts, and endure sickness (227-231). Oviedo does not name the island as Cabeza de Vaca does. At Malhado, the Castilians make friends with the Indians, who are also described as being skillful archers of large bodies (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 95). The men gather materials and build rafts to escape. They are unable to leave because these are torn apart by rough waters. The Indians see this and weep with the Castilians on the

beach. The Indians demonstrate a distinct nature to the Castilians, who had previously turned on each other when having to face the elements. The Indians take the Castilians to their homes, where Cabeza de Vaca and the others are given food and participate in a village party.

The description of the Indians does correspond with the presence of water, which would have contributed to their large physiques, although in *Esplandián*, heat was also present. Here, Cabeza de Vaca writes of the presence of cold weather as being a constant cause of misery for the men:

E como entonçes era por noviembre y el frío muy grande y nosotros tales que con poca dificultad nos podían contar los huessos, estábamos hechos propia figura de la muerte (1, 98).

And since it was November and the cold very great, we, so thin that with little difficulty our bones could be counted, appeared like the figure of death itself (99).

As noted in the first chapter, Huarte stated that overexposure to heat would have weakened the deliberative faculty of a person, making it like that of a pubescent boy. In contrast, an elder man would become wise as his body cooled and he aged: “Pero la calidad con que se halla mejor el anima racional es la frialdad del cuerpo,”/ “But the quality with which one best discovers the rational faculty is coolness of the body,” (Huarte [1594] 68). The presence of water would lead one to anticipate the nature of the Indians to be ferocious. Instead, the Indians are initially frightened by the Castilians. They return with food and find them having faced complete disaster. Instead of obliterating the foreigners, the Indians are moved to compassion for them. This group of Indians sets themselves apart from others who have taken the men captive as slaves. Thus, the reader is led to question whether the presence of moisture

or heat is the determinant cause of cruel natures, when these Indians do not act viciously but others along the coast do further on.

Having remained on the island with the Indians, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico, and the other Christians learn of how some former shipmates had eaten each other. At this news, the Indians react with great disapproval, so much so, that the Castilians fear for their lives (Cabeza de Vaca 107). Again, Cabeza de Vaca presents a dichotomy between the behavior of the Indians and the Castilians. The Castilians are from what was believed to be the temperate corridor. Being from this place of origin would have provided them with balanced humors and the ability to use their minds to govern their passions and their soul over their bodies. Instead of using their given strengths to overcome hardships, the Europeans desert one another and then resort to cannibalism. In doing so, they reject God's natural order and their place in it, thereby inviting in physical disease as well. With the diverging behaviors between the Castilians and the Indians, Cabeza de Vaca reaffirms the exercise of free will to overcome disease and the threat of sin. In this way, it was not necessarily a coincidence that Cabeza de Vaca and the other Castilians unite with the Indians, because they too search for protection from sinful behaviors and physical harm.

Once the news of cannibalism arrives among them, many become ill with the stomach flu and die. At first, the Indians believe the Castilians are attacking them using disease:

... uno indio que a mí me tenía les dizo que no creyesen que nosotros éramos los que los matávamos, porque si nosotros tal poder tuviéramos, escusamos que no murieran tantos de nosotros como ellos veían que avían muerto sin que les pudiéramos poner remedio, y que

ya no quedávamos sino muy pocos, y que ninguno hazía más daño ni perjuicio, que lo mejor era que nos dexassen. Y quiso nuestro Señor que los otros siguieron este consejo y paresçer, y ansí se estorvó su propósito. A esta isla posimos por nombre isla de Malhado (Cabeza de Vaca, 1, 106).

... an Indian whose possession I had been placed told them that they should not believe that we were the ones who killed them, because if we had such power, we would not have allowed so many of our own to die, as they saw, without our being able to prevent it, and that since no more than a few of us now remained, and since none of us did any harm or ill, the best thing to do would be to leave us alone. And our Lord God granted that the others followed this advice and opinion, and thus they were diverted from their intention. To this island we gave the name Malhado (107).

The Indians could have shown no mercy and killed the Castilians, reverting to diseased and sinful nature. Cabeza de Vaca presents a causal correlation between the presence of the illness and the sinful actions of the entire community, Indians and Castilians alike. Knowing that another member of the community had committed such a sin, everyone else had passively condoned it by not punishing it.

In this way, the community has a spiritual code of conduct it must maintain in order to protect itself from physical peril. Some of the Indians think to kill Cabeza de Vaca and his companions as a way to eradicate the disease. Another points out that the Castilians have not been able to save themselves and the Indians are dissuaded. Through this anecdote, Cabeza de Vaca reaffirms chivalric values of overcoming social disaccord and maintaining unity among peoples.²⁴ The Indians and Castilians are no longer separate entities but brought together, threatened, as well as saved by the same code of conduct. Even though the Indians have not formally converted to

²⁴ See Susan C. Giráldez. *Las Sergas de Esplandián y la España de los Reyes Católicos*. New York: Lang, 2003 (7-22) for information on the resemantization of chivalric values in Spain at the time of the Catholic Kings to include rejection of social disaccord among nobility and the abandonment of the search for personal glory to unite against non-Christian enemies.

Christianity, right actions are emphasized as more important than the profession of words in order to be granted salvation. By choosing the well-being of all, the group is restored to health.

Cabeza de Vaca also describes how these Indians also “Es la gente del mundo que más aman a sus hijos y mejor tratamiento les hazen” (1, 108)/ “love their children more and treat them better than any other people in the world,” (109). Unlike the Californians in *Esplandián*, who murdered their male children, the Indians show great care towards their young. They also mourn their dead ritualistically, weeping together, and burying or burning them. Unlike the Castilians, who had not buried but eaten their dead, the Indians also show strong friendship and social order amongst each other with funerary and matrimonial rites. Hence, those who profess Christian faith and lived it as well as those who had not yet learned of the Gospels but acted justly have been brought together with those who could teach them about Christ.

There appears to be a contradiction between the ferocity with which the Indians act and the compassion that they show towards their families. As explained earlier, medical theory was not applied in a one to one manner between precise characteristics of a terrain and a people. Also characteristics were modified to meet an author’s interests. Here, although seemingly contradictory, there is a link established between the ferocity of the Indians and the moisture of the zone as well as the compassion that they show and the inland territory that they inhabit for part of the year. Thus, they would have had less exposure to moisture, and therefore, less possible decay of their bodies and souls.

Some ailments persist within the community. Because of this, the Indians force Cabeza de Vaca, Del Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico to become healers:

En fin nos vimos en tanta neçessidad que lo huvimos de hazer sin temer que nadie nos levasse por ello la pena. La manera que ellos tienen en curarse es ésta: que en viéndose enfermos, llaman un médico y después de curado no sólo le dan todo lo que poseen, mas entre sus parientes buscan otras cosas para darle. Lo que el médico haze es dalle unas sajas adonde tiene el dolor y chúpanles al derredor dellas. Dan cauterios de fuego que es cosa entre ellos tenida por muy provechosa, y yo lo he espirmentado y me suscedió bien dello. Y después desto soplan aquel lugar que les duele, y con esto creen ellos que se les quita el mal. La manera con que nosotros cuarmos era santiguándolos y soplarlos, y rezar un Pater Noster y un Ave María, y rogar lo mejor que podíamos a Dios nuestro Señor que les diesse salud y espirasse en ellos que nos hiziessen algún buen tratamiento. Quiso Dios nuestro Señor y su misericordia que todos aquellos por quien suplicamos luego que los santiguamos dezían a los otros que estaban sanos y buenos, y por este respecto nos hazían buen tratamiento, y dexavan ellos de comer por dárnoslo a nosotros, y nos davan cueros y otras cosillas (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 112-114).

In short, we found ourselves in such need that we had to do it without fearing that anyone would bring us grief for it. The manner in which they perform cures is as follows: on becoming sick, they call a physician and after being cured they not only give him everything they possess, but they also seek things to give him from among their relatives. What the physician does is to make some incisions where the sick person has pain, and then sucks all around them. They perform cauterizations with fire, which is a thing among them considered to be very effective, and I have tried it and it turned out well for me. After this, they blow on the area that hurts, and with this, they believe that they have removed the malady. The manner in which we performed cures was by making the sign of the cross over them and blowing on them, and praying a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, and as best we could beseeching our Lord God that he grant them health and move them to treat us well. Our Lord God in his mercy willed that all those on whose behalf we made the supplication, after we had made the sign of the cross over them said to the others that they were restored and healthy, and on account of this they treated us well, and refrained from eating in order to give their food to us, and they gave us skins and other things (113-115).

The Indians understand without knowing of the Gospels that by following these men, healing can occur. In this way, the Indians demonstrate their natural light of reason.

As already noted, the behaviors of the Castilians had demonstrated their own similarities with the nature of Las Casas's description of Aristotle's third kind of barbarian. In contrast, the Indians show an innate ability to maintain social order and a natural intelligence that illuminates a path to virtue:

Ya que Dios, bueno y omnipotente, por su amor al género humano, ha creado todo para beneficio del hombre, al que, provisto de tantos dones por especial voluntad y providencia, como hemos dicho, protege, y dirige sus actos, e ilumina la inteligencia de cada cual y lo predispone a la virtud, de acuerdo con la capacidad que le ha dado; por tanto, es necesario que la naturaleza racional, que debe ser fuerza sólo a ese artífice, tenga en la mayoría de los casos hombres perfectos de excelentes dotes intelectuales, rara vez estúpidos y bárbaros (1,25).

Since God, good and omnipotent, for his love of human kind, has created all for benefit of man, to which, provided with so many gifts for special will and providence, as we have said, protects, and directs his acts, and illuminates the intelligence of each one and predisposes it to virtue, according to the capability he has been given; therefore, it is necessary that natural reason, which owes its strength only to this artifice, have in the majority of cases perfect men of excellent intellectual gifts, rarely be stupid or barbaric.

Because of their natural reason, the Indians enforce a new social order once Castilians are among them, in which the four are pushed into a role of spiritual leadership. In doing so, Christianity is spread among the Indians, as they healed and are protected from disease. Nevertheless, there is an element of coercion involved in this leadership. The Castilians do not have a choice. On the one hand, they are given goods in exchange for healing. On the other hand, if they did not heal, they would die. In this way, the men are treated also as having a specific role that they must carry out for the Indians. They are merchants, healers, and laborers.

Cabeza de Vaca emphasizes the presence of water when discussing the terrain of these Indians:

Y le pasé el ancón y quatro ríos que ay por la costa, porque él no sabía nadar. Y así fuimos con algunos indios adelante hasta que llegamos a un ancón que tiene una legua de través y es por todas partes hondo... vimos unos indios que vinieron a ver los nuestros, y nos dixeron como más adelante avía tres hombres como nosotros, y nos dixeron los nombres dellos. Y preguntándoles por los demás, nos respondieron que todos eran muertos de frío y de hambre, y que aquellos indios adelante ellos mismos por su passatiempo avían muerto a Diego Dorantes y a Valdevieso y Diego de Huelva... (1, 122-124).

And I carried him across the inlet and four rivers that are along the coast, because he did not know how to swim. And thus we went forward with some Indians until we arrived at an inlet that is a league wide and deep throughout... we saw some Indians who were coming to see ours, and they told us that farther ahead there were three men like us, and they replied to us that they had all died of cold and hunger, and that those Indians ahead had, for their own amusement, killed Diego Dorantes and Valdevieso and Diego de Huelva (123-125).

Because of this, one questions if the Indians with whom the men are traveling could completely overcome their diseased condition. Was having the Castilians among them for their satisfaction or for the salvation of everyone, including the Castilians? It is possible that the Castilians were being treated as laborers due to the nature the Indians perceived them to have. This would imply that the Indians believed that the four Castilians were inferior to them. According to European medical theory, the inferiority would be true. Forced labor would not be out of order with God's hierarchy because Castile was in actuality to the north. As studied in the first chapter, cold environments generated fullness of blood, causing courage, tall and fair stature, but at the same time sluggish minds (Floyd-Wilson 30). In this way, Cabeza de Vaca reveals the Indians treat the Castilians in accordance with their nature even though they are unfamiliar with such theory.

Eventually Cabeza de Vaca and the others encounter four rivers along the coast that had to be crossed before arriving at Espiritu Santo. Another set of cartographic anomalies exist with regards to the location of Espiritu Santo. Critics such as Adorno and Pautz, Krieger, Davenport and Wells, Coopwood and Dunn, and others place this port on the northern Gulf of Mexico based on Espiritu Santo's location on the Pineda map. "Espiritu Santo was believed in the 1520s to lie two hundred leagues toward the Florida Peninsula from the mouth of the Río Pánuco," (Adorno and Pautz 1,123 n5). However, Espiritu Santo was also noted to exist in other southern locations; Bahía de Espiritu Santo on the eastern side of the Yucatán bordering the Caribbean Sea and the port of Espiritu Santo at the mouth of the Río de la Plata basin (*Theatrum Orbis*).

The multiple locations with the name Espiritu Santo points at the fact that medical theory could be used to classify the Indians in distinct ways. Firstly, if the men were in North America, then the Indians should have acted bravely but with sluggish minds. The Indians are portrayed as acting with cruelty, and having military prowess however. They are also overgrown. According to medical theory, these attributes correspond more closely with peoples of southern latitudes.

On several occasions, Cabeza de Vaca notes the continual unkindness with which the four men are treated by coastal Indians before they became healers. He also refers to his own enslavement while living in the possession of an Indian on Malhado (107, 119, 123, 125). As stated in the first chapter, humidity would have affected the moral capacities of peoples from such regions, causing decay and disease. For example, in *Esplandián*, Calaifa, Matroco, and Frandalo behaved

ferociously and incited combat upon their initial encounter with the Christian knights.

Similarly, Cabeza de Vaca writes,

Yo huve de quedar con estos mismos indios de la isla más de un año, y por el mucho trabajo que me davan y mal tratamiento que me hazían, determiné de huir dellos e irme a los que moran en los montes y tierra firme que se llaman los de Charruco, porque yo no podía sufrir la vida que con estos otros tenía... (1, 118).

I had to remain with these same Indians from the island for more than a year, and because of the great labors they gave me, I resolved to flee from them and go to those who live in the forests and on the mainland, who are called those of the Charruco, because I was unable to endure the life that I had with these others... (119).

Repeatedly, Cabeza de Vaca portrays the men as using pacific means by which to deal with situations, in which they are met with violence. There exists an underlying current of service to God here as the four men carry with them the message of Christ.

The reader is reminded of another place in the New Testament, in which Jesus instructs the disciples on how he would like them to spread his word and what to do when confronted with hostility:

...et quicumque non receperit vos neque audierit sermones vestros exeuntes foras de domo vel de civitate excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris (Matthew 10:14).

...and whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words: going forth out of that house or city, shake off the dust from your feet.

Although the four men flee their captors, they are also portrayed as serving God by following Jesus's teachings.

Instead of knights, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions are portrayed as spiritual warriors, who use their faith as a form of defense. In *Esplandián*, the giants are defeated by the Christian knights, who have significantly less bodily strength

because of their dedication to God. The infidels marvel at such a wonder, and are offered the chance to convert and make peace. The Castilians use their faith to overcome disease and death as well as escape their captors. Hence, for their service to God, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico, were granted rewards, such as food, blankets, and other tradable goods. The Christians and those, who believe in their power and God, use the ability to cure as an economic and spiritual mechanism by which to 'leave so miserable a life.'

Cabeza de Vaca traveled extensively acting as a vendor, entering into mainland, or *tierra firme*, as well as returning to Malhado to meet with Andrés Dorantes and Alonso Del Castillo and others yearly from the winter of 1528 until the spring of 1533. Krieger also notes his reason for returning to Malhado being to persuade Lope de Oviedo to leave the island (32). Adorno and Pautz have explained that Cabeza de Vaca's use of the term *tierra firme* is simply a reference to mainland in opposition to the island of Malhado. "Originally 'islas y tierra firme' referred to the Greater Antilles and the northern coast of South America..." (2,29). *Tierra firme* could also be a wide reference to the lands between the eastern coast of the Yucatán Peninsula and the tip of the Florida coast. This is based on Francisco de Garay's contract with the crown in 1521, in which the whole region from the 'Floridian land' to Mexico was part of *tierra firme* or the mainland (2,29).

In his description of this time traveling back and forth from the mainland to the island, Cabeza de Vaca writes how the mercantile aspect of their healing provides him with freedom from the Indians of Malhado:

Y porque yo me hize mercader, procuraré de usar el officio lo mejor que supe. Y por esto ellos me davan de comer y me hazían buen

tratamiento, y rogávanme que me fuese de unas partes a otras por cosas que ellos avían menester, porque razón de guerra que contino tienen la tierra no se anda ni se contrata tanto. E ya con mis tratos y mercaderías entrava la tierra adentro todo lo que quería, y por luengo de cosa me alargava quarenta o cincuenta leguas (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 120).

And because I became a merchant, I tried to exercise the vocation as best I knew how. And because of this they gave me food to eat and treated me well, and they importuned me to go from one place to another to obtain things they needed, because on account of the continual warfare in the land... And with my dealings and wares I entered inland as far as I desired, and I went along the coast for forty to fifty leagues (121).

The four Castilians treated both those who had physical and spiritual diseases, often performing cauterizations. In exchange for these healings, the inland Indians were moved to give the men goods, companionship, and passage. Service to God became a means by which to live.

More importantly, each healing was carried out with prayer and the sign of the cross being made over the Indians. The sign of the cross was also used to baptize man into Christian faith. At once, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions act both physicians and priests. In order to receive physical health, the Indians had to accept the Word of God through belief in the men's prayer and God's ability to complete the miracle:

Y ninguno jamás curamos que no nos dixesse que quedava sano, y tanta confiança tenían que avían de sanar si nosotros los curásemos, que creían que en tanto que nosotros allí estuviésemos ninguno dellos avía de morir (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 164).

And we never cured anyone who did not say that he was better, and they had so much confidence that they would be cured if we performed the cures, that they believed that as long as we were there, none of them would die (165).

The Indians have so strong a belief in the curing powers of these men, that the ritual itself of curing became assurance of their wellness, both physical and spiritual.

Again, Cabeza de Vaca emphasizes the exercise of free will to overcome one's diseased and sinful condition. Through a sincere conversion, like Frandalo of *Esplandián*, the Indians are restored to health. In contrast, the Castilians that had perished like Montalvo's Matroco had rejected their faith by not living according to a Christian code of conduct. Matroco had professed faith but did not believe, and therefore died of his wounds. The reader is reminded once more of the biblical scene when the woman touches Christ's garment and is healed. Christ responded to her, "Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole."²⁵

Adorno has also investigated this point in Cabeza de Vaca's text, stating that,

In Cabeza de Vaca's narration, and in others of the area in this period, the role of social consensus is obvious. He and his fellows no doubt did cure some psychosomatic maladies, yet this point is subordinate to a more fundamental one: it is not that they became great shamans because they performed cures but rather that they performed cures because they were perceived to be great shamans (*Negotiations of Fear*, 173).

I do agree that the men were perceived of as shamans, and therefore, were expected and able to carry out healings. The Indians' natural light of reason had led them to this perception of the men. Because the Indians believe in the power of the men and their God, they are healed and not vice versa, in which they are healed and therefore believe. Thereby, the Indians demonstrate their capacity for receiving and following the Gospels.

To make Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico into semi-gods would lessen the emphasis placed on the Indian's rational capacity, which

²⁵ See chapter one and Matthew 9: 20-22.

Cabeza de Vaca so adamantly stresses. Firstly, it would have been difficult to convince all the Indians of such stature. Secondly, it would have also been difficult to sway peoples from their traditional beliefs if they were fearful or suspicious of the Christians or the peoples following them. In his representation of indigenous peoples, Cabeza de Vaca shows them as having a clear understanding of the Christian hierarchy of the universe. The four men are to be spiritual leaders, from whom the Indians can receive salvation as well as physical protection because of their roles as mediators with God, which is a reflection of the Indians' rational capacity and grounds for their good treatment.

Cabeza de Vaca repeats a similar chivalric paradigm in his narrative as within Montalvo's *Esplandián*. He and his companions rise to power because of their strength in battling disease and sin through faith; whereas the other Castilians gave way to disunity and died. One questions the geographical understanding presented by Cabeza de Vaca if the Castilians reverted to such sinful conditions and violence. If they were from the temperate Mediterranean corridor, then they should have been able to act with prudence based upon their place of origin. Yet they do not. In Montalvo's text, when a Christian utilized force, it demonstrated their prudence because such an act was done in the name of God to convert non-Christians. In Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, the author portrays violence negatively. When one resorted to it, this showed the lack of prudence the enforcer had. Cabeza separates violence from conversion. In this way, Cabeza de Vaca does not portray the Spaniards or the Indians in precise accordance with traditional medical theory, which linked disposition and wit to regional climates.

Instead, Cabeza de Vaca equates Christianity with peace, healing, and unity. Curiously, the Indians, who had yet to receive the Gospels were not only capable of pacific conversion but also in favor of it; whereas the majority of the Spaniards on the expedition choose violence and sin for individual survival even though they had already been given Christ's message.

The Dominican thinker Bartolomé de las Casas, like Saint Thomas Aquinas before him, argued that all men, even non-Christians, had a light of reason that could lead them to serve God. In his *Apologia*, Las Casas states that the Indians show such a light of reason without having been taught the Gospels. This is because, although misguided, the Indians offered their most precious sacrifice of human life in God's honor (Choe 157). This notion of natural light differs from medical theory of the time, in which the court physician Juan Huarte de San Juan, would state that each man acts in accordance with his abilities marked by his place of origin. Yet Huarte also states, as noted in the first chapter, that all capabilities were given to a man by God. Huarte argues that one could overcome a sinful nature through the use of free will. A man could overcome his sinful nature using free will regardless of the kind of diseased temperament to which he was predisposed.

Cabeza de Vaca's portrayal of the Indians corresponds with both las Casas' and Huarte's theories. Without Christ's teachings, the Indians are still drawn to men who are able to convert them and heal them, they demonstrate customs of civil societies, and they reject sins like cannibalism or idolatry, showing their light of reason and the overcoming of sin through free will. The Indians still share the physical features that correspond with those of Montalvo's giants. Cabeza de Vaca

portrays the Indians as having intellectual prowess, military might, and large builds. Based on medical theory, by ontological connection then, these traits should link the Indians to peoples of more southern latitudes like Frandalo and Calaiifa, or as noted in the first chapter, peoples from sub-Saharan Africa.

The many Indians with whom Cabeza de Vaca and his companions interact continue to show similarities with Frandalo and Calaiifa through their choices to join the growing Christian social body. The four men's status as healers provided them with freedom to travel among warring groups of Indians. Using their ability to cure, they walk among differing indigenous communities, and establish their own social and political status as leaders. In this way, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions' ability to negotiate between these groups through spiritual interactions is also a form of mercantile transaction that allows for the unification of many groups, who would formerly have fought. Different peoples brought goods to these men in exchange for healing and baptism, and through this, they were brought into a growing Christian social body and their goods were distributed between all.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions would have integrated more fully into some indigenous communities than others, and some of these may have been more powerful than others. In turn, such groups benefited from the company of such figures in order to establish social and economic dominance over others through spirituality and healing. For example, Cabeza de Vaca elaborates on the process of curing, explaining that it was not solely an act of benevolence:

... traían çinco enfermos que estavan tollidos y muy malos, y venían en busca de Castillo que los curasse. Y cada uno de los enfermos offresçió su arco y flechas. Y él los resçibió, y a puesta del sol los santiguó y encomendó a Dios nuestro Señor y todos le suplicamos con

la mejor manera que podíamos les diésemos salud, pues él vía que no avía otro remedio para que aquella gente nos ayudasse y saliésemos de tan miserable vida (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 158-160).

...they brought five sick people who were crippled and very ill, and they came in search of Castillo, so that he could cure them. And each one of the sick people offered their bows and arrows. And he accepted them,, and at sunset he made the sign of the cross over them and entrusted them to God our Lord and we all prayed in the best way we could that we might bring them health, since he saw that there was no other means by which to make those people help us so that we could leave so miserable a life (159-161).

The men perform their cures as ritualistic acts that reaffirm their authority and status as healers amongst peoples. On the one hand, the sick believe themselves healed. On the other, Cabeza de Vaca, his companions, and the Indians who accompany them use this transaction to gain access to aid from those they cure as well as to escape the difficult conditions in which they were forced to live.

As various indigenous communities encounter the growing group of Christians, their homes are looted. Payment was given in exchange for the performance of such miracles or salvation, and Cabeza de Vaca and the others do not impede the practice. Those non-Christians, who wish to be healed of their diseases, must offer goods. For example, in one scene, Cabeza de Vaca is asked to cure a man, who has died by the time he arrives. Yet, Cabeza de Vaca is given a reward for his services even though it is unsure whether or not the man has been physically healed:

... yo vi el enfermo que íbamos a curar que estava muerto... Yo le quité una estera que tenía ençima con que estava cubierto. Y lo mejor que pude, supliqué a nuestro Señor fuesse servido de dar salud a aquél y a todos los otros que della tenían necesidad. E después de santiguado y spolado muchas vezes, me traxeron su arco y me lo dieron y una será de tunas molidas. Y lleváronme a curar otros muchos que estavan malos de modorra, y medieorn otras dos seras de tunas, las quales di a nuestros indios que con nosotros avían venido. Y echo esto, nos bolvimos a nuestro aposento. Y nuestros indios a quien

di las tunas se quedaron allá, a la noche se volvieron a sus casas y dixerón que aquel que estava muerto y yo avía curado en presencia dellos se avía levantado bueno y se avía paseado y comido y hablado con ellos, y que todos quantos avía curado quedavan sanos y sin calentura y muy alegres (1, 162).

...I saw a sick man whom we were going to cure, who was dead... I removed a mat that he had on top of him, with which he was covered. And as best I could, I beseeched our Lord to be served by giving health to that man and to all the others among them who were in need. And after having made the sign of the cross and blown on him many times, they brought me his bow and they gave it to me along with a basket of crushed prickly pears. And they took me to cure many others who had sleeping sickness, and they gave me two other baskets of prickly pears, which I gave to our Indians who had come with us... at nighttime they returned to their houses and said that that one who had been dead and whom I had cure in their presence had arisen and walked about and eaten and spoken with them, as that as many as I had cured had become well and were without fever and very happy (163).

The offering of payment is necessary for the carrying out of the sign of the cross and healing ritual. The act of curing seems to be independent of the status of one's physical health. This is not the case, as the Indians face the threat of physical and spiritual death by continuing to not receive Christian healing. Sincere conversion is necessary in order to eliminate the threat of physical ailment, which could result from sin.

With this process of medical evangelization, the chivalric trope of service to God is reinforced. Each who asks for healing and truly believes is welcomed into the faith and is healed in both body and soul. Moreover, he who proclaims the Word of God is likened to God's vassal. If this vassal performs service in the name of God, he will be rewarded on earth and in heaven. Thus, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions are rewarded for their works by those they cure. In the same way, the peoples

traveling with them, by converting, become vassals of God, for whom He will provide.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions carry out healings of diseased patients, but not always do they communicate through speech. Warring groups would also come together to be healed even though they had differing languages and customs among them. Still, Cabeza de Vaca negates that the Indians were idolaters, and hence, because they had not yet heard the Gospels, they were infidels. Their faith status as non-Christians, in Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, is directly linked to the presence of disease within their communities. Through evangelization Cabeza de Vaca portrays a way by which he, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico could bring these groups together by acting as mediators between man and God, healing their bodies, and bringing them into the Christian community. Rewards are consistently given to the men in exchange for faith healing.

At the same time, there is a new process of spiritual and physical unification that has developed through spirituality. It is a new form of language. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions gather their converted followers, into a Christian social body, which may not speak the same language but they each have accepted the Word of God. The humanity of the Indians is reaffirmed, as they share in solidarity with other Indians and the Castilians through Christianity. In this way, Cabeza de Vaca and the others carry out spiritual conquest of disease.

While receiving eternal salvation, the men are also given earthly rewards, just as Esplandián and his men are when carrying out their chivalric missions to save Constantinople. The goods of those Indians, whose houses are sacked, are bounty

paid for service to God. Such a reward is only to be shared among those who are followers of Christ. As a result, to be part of the Christian social body would entail being healed, or converting to Christianity and traveling throughout the land, under the leadership of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions in order to be provided for and protected from disease.

It becomes apparent that one's belief in God, or spiritual health, was not only linked to physical health of an individual, but also connected to social health among the members of the Christian social body. Cabeza de Vaca also reinforces the link between bodily, spiritual, and social health in his descriptions of an androgynous figure that performed bizarre rituals upon the Indians, named Mala Cosa:

... que dezían que por aquella tierra anduvo un hombre que ellos llaman mala cosa, y que era pequeño de cuerpo, y que tenía barvas aunque nunca claramente le pudieran ver el rostro, y que quando venía a la casa donde estaban, se les levantaban los cabellos y temblaban, y luego pareçía a la puerta de la casa un tizón ardiendo. Y luego aquel hombre entrava y tomava al que quería dellos, y dávalos tres cuchilladas grandes por las hijadas con un pedernal muy agudo, tan ancho como una mano y dos palmos en luengo. Y metía la mano por aquellas cuchilladas y sacávalos las tripas, y que cortava de una tripa poco más o menos de un palmo, y aquello que cortava echávalo en las brasas, y luego le dava tres cuchilladas en un brazo, y la segunda dava por la sangradura y desconçertávalo. Y dende a poco, se lo tornava a conçertar, y poníanles las manos sobre las heridas, y deziannos que luego quedavan sanos... y quando él quería, tomava el buhío o casa y subíala en alto, y dende a un poco caía con ella y dava muy gran golpe. ... muchas vezes le dieron de comer y que nunca jamás comió, y que le preguntavan [de] dónde venía y a qué parte tenía su casa, y que les mostró una hendedura de la tierra y dixo que en su casa era allá debaxo... vimos las señales de las cuchilladas.... Nosotros les diximos que aquél era un malo. Y de la mejor manera que podimos les dábamos a entender si ellos creyesen en Dios nuestro Señor y fuesen christianos como nosotros, no ternían miedo de aquél ni él osaría venir a hazelles aquellas cosas... (Cabeza de Vaca 1, 166-168).

... they said that through that land went a man they call an evil being, and that he was small in body and that he had a beard, although they

were never able to see his face clearly... later the man came in and took whichever of them he wanted, and he gave them three large incisions in the sides with a very sharp flint, a hand wide and two spans long. And he placed his hands into those wounds and pulled out their entrails and that he cut off a piece, more or less a span long, and threw the part that he cut off into the fire, and afterward he made three cuts in the arm, and the second one he made in the crook of the arm, and dislocated it. And a little while afterward, he set it back into place, and he placed his hands near the wounds, and they told us they were healed... when he wanted, he picked up the *buhío* or house, and raised it into the air, and a little while afterward he dropped it and it fell with a great blow.... Many times they gave him food to eat and that he never ate anything, and he showed them a cleft in the earth and said that his house was there below... we saw the scars of the cuts... we told them that he was an evil person. And in the best manner we could, we gave them to understand that if they believed in God our Lord and were Christian like us, they would not be afraid of him nor would he dare come and do those things to them... (167-169).

This figure would cut, remove, and disfigure body parts of the members of the tribe before restoring them to health, appearing both in domestic and celebratory situations.

Yet, no one can identify the being clearly because of his changing of gender or costumes. Cabeza de Vaca alludes to the belief, based on such behaviors and on the location of where the figure was said to live, that it was a demonic sort of being.

Mala Cosa was able to inflict such incidents upon these peoples because they were not yet Christian.

Even though he does both heal and harm, Mala Cosa does so without specific reason or discretion as to whom he chooses to injure or trick. Cabeza de Vaca recounts how the Indians offer him food, which he will not eat. His rejection of the gifts is an example of how there is a lack of control or ability to exchange or systematically comprehend his works. This sort of uncontrollable physical and spiritual violence, which is then restored to peace, and then repeated, occurs on many occasions. Mala Cosa carries out these acts, which instill fear and reverence towards

him. He is clearly not the same as the others in the group, living separate from them, but he is continually among them in daily and festive situations. Thus, it is possible that these tricks may be a reference to non-Christian spiritual practices. Cabeza de Vaca explains to the Indians that Mala Cosa would no longer visit or injure them when they believed in Christ and followed their ways of worship and livelihood.

With the process of transformation and conversion, the Christians offer a new systematic understanding of natural order, which is based on exchange. Mala Cosa, then, is a former infidel way of narrative understanding and existing in the universe. He is a physical manifestation of spiritual disorder, and his presence would continue to cause physical and spiritual threat to those who did not convert. Before the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, Mala Cosa would interact with the Indians, but only to communicate his power through inexplicable tricks. By learning Christianity, spirituality becomes a sort of formulaic kind of economic interaction. Those that join the Christian social body would be promised salvation. In exchange for service to God, the baptized receive protection.

Cabeza de Vaca represents the experience of the Indians before the arrival of the Christians as having to face indiscriminate harm. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions offer a new manner of being which provided a choice for the Indians the men encountered to acquire salvation. He describes how in order that the Indians be healed, they are asked to abandon their previous ways of living and understandings of what is portrayed as an irrational order of the universe. Instead, the Indians are to enter into a reciprocal relationship, in which health is provided through the choice to be Christian, and the choice to continue to be Christian provides health. Again,

Christianity is used as a medicine by which to eradicate pagan forms of belief, in a way, as a form of spiritual warfare.

The encounters with Mala Cosa are similar to Calaiifa and her band of women warriors in *Esplandián*, who did not understand the danger they caused themselves and others by joining non-Christians to attack Constantinople. Through their sinful ways and attacks on Christendom, they brought physical destruction to themselves and others. Nevertheless, once subdued, they were taught the correct way to live among men. The Indians, like the Californians, can no longer be considered (the second kind of barbarian) having learned the Word of God from the Christians. Through their contact with Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico, the Indians gain their humanity and health with the vanquishing of former sinful spiritual practices.

According to Sepúlveda, those of lesser perfection would be required to submit to the more perfect, or face being warred upon; even having received the healing Word of God. In the case of the Indians, like the giants in *Esplandián*, by not converting and accepting their place in the Christian natural hierarchy, they would be faced with continued future attacks of Christians or of disease. Sepúlveda bases his argument of the need for submission on humoral imbalance:

‘De gran interés es, según los médicos, que los buenos humores dominen en el cuerpo humano, para que se conserve en su estado natural y en sana salud, y cuando sucede lo contrario y predominen los malos y corrompidos humores, no omiten ningún medio, si es que le hay, para remediar este desorden y purgar los humores malos... ésta [guerra] tiene por fin el cumplimiento de la ley natural para gran bien de los vencidos, para que aprendan de los cristianos la humanidad, para que se acostumbren á la virtud, para que con sana doctrina y piadosas enseñanzas preparen sus ánimos á recibir gustosamente la religión cristiana...’ (89, 93).

‘Of great interest is it, according to doctors, that good humors dominate the human body, so that it conserves its natural state and good health, and when the contrary occurs and bad and corrupted ones predominate do not omit any means, if it is that there are, in order to remedy this disorder and purge the bad humors... this [war] has in the end the completion of natural law for great good of the conquered, so that they learn from Christians humanity, so that they become accustomed to virtue, so that healthy doctrine and pious teachings prepare their souls to receive happily the Christian religion.

The Word of God serves to cure the sick from their troubled bodily and spiritual strife, but this is only true to those who accept their role in the natural hierarchy.

Once taught the Gospels, disordered Indians would be healed, protected, and integrated into the natural hierarchy of God. The Indians could then be instructed in how to live according to Christian theology and serve Christian kings.

In *Esplandián*, violent subjugation is used so that sinful non-believers could be healed through contact with and exemplary conduct of Christians at the service of their kings. In contrast, in Cabeza de Vaca’s tale, the Indians are not portrayed as needing to be subdued violently. Even establishing that the Indians accepted Christianity, the Indians’ rights to sovereignty were still questioned based upon medical theory. On the one hand, the characteristics that the Indians portray throughout the text manifest dispositions that correspond with people of southern latitudes; agility, strength, and astuteness. On the other hand, according to medical theory, when traversing North America, Cabeza de Vaca should have represented the Indians as having greater bodily strength but less intellectual capacity. Either way, the Indians would seem to be in need of prudent rule by those more tempered than them.

Sepúlveda's arguments in favor of a more perfect society ruling over a less perfect one was not based upon his belief in the lack of the Indians' lack of ability to reason or their rational capacity (Adorno, *Polemics* 116). Instead, comparison of customs of the Indians with the Spanish would determine the level of civility of their society. In this way, the more complex a civilization, such as that of the Spanish Christian social body, would provide non-Christian Indians with an "imposition of law and force and those based on mutual recognition of a natural hierarchy," (117). Cabeza de Vaca's portrayals of the Indians show that they meet the Aristotelian requirements of civility. Therefore, the Indians must simply be taught the Gospels in order to accept their place in the natural hierarchy. After having been converted, by executing tasks within their customs that meet the criteria for civil society, the Indians' health as well as that of the social body remains in harmony with the natural hierarchy of the universe.

It would seem, then, that Cabeza de Vaca does reaffirm the need for a Christian, Castilian presence in the New World to bring the Gospels to the Indians, but pacifically; whereas Montalvo promotes the violent subjugation of the fictional Californians in order for them to be saved as well as to introduce civil codes of conduct. Cabeza de Vaca reaffirms the Castilian role of legitimacy in the New World specifically for peaceful conversion. Idolatry and human sacrifice were not seen by Cabeza de Vaca and his friends. This absence eliminated the need to punish the Indians for their crimes or to violently attack them in order to save the innocent from such horrors as cannibalism or sacrifice, which were part of Sepúlveda's first and fourth arguments to subjugate the Indians.

Somewhat ironically, the driving force to create a Christian social body among the Indians and the four Spanish companions was not merely a question of evangelization but also of economic appropriation. Survival, or eradication of physical and spiritual disease, becomes contingent upon the acquisition of the Word of God. Moreover, the apprehension of the Word of God consists in the learning of a new way of being or a new kind of law. This law would require the seizing of others goods and instillation of new leadership among them. As Aristotle had pointed out in *The Politics*, citizens were those that carried out their social roles, determined by nature, in support of a particular regime or way of being for the health of the civic body. The encounters with each new group of Indians are portrayed as being based upon the exchange that will take place in part for conversion and in part for goods. Each new member of the Christian social body will be provided for but only so much as they provide for the continuation and expansion of the group.

Cabeza de Vaca would encounter many indigenous peoples in his travels, with whom he exchanges goods and information:

He reports that he traveled inland as far as he cared to go, and along the coast some forty or fifty leagues (60). Considering the goods that he acquired, it is clear that Cabeza de Vaca was not wandering aimlessly but following established routes to acquire the commodities desired by his trading clients (Adorno, *Negotiations of Fear*, 169).

If, as Adorno has stated, Cabeza de Vaca was not wandering but following trade routes, it would be difficult to pinpoint exact locations for his route or his stays because he traded amongst many indigenous communities during nearly six years (160).

Davenport and Wells state that at this stage in the journey there is such vagueness in the descriptions and distances provided by Cabeza de Vaca and lack of detail given by Oviedo that it is difficult to carry out a proper analysis of the men's exact path, with which I firmly agree (213). Moreover, Krieger explains the trouble with relying on the distances offered by Cabeza de Vaca due to the varying measurements for what was understood to be a league (42). Also, in naming distances, Cabeza de Vaca, "... could have been told these and simply repeated this information in his narrative" or simply be poor guesses (42). Regardless of whether or not we are able to identify his precise location, Cabeza de Vaca did become familiarized with indigenous communities and their customs. As the four men travel inland, they have contact with the Mariames, Avavares, Quevenes, Guayacones, Yguases, Atayos, Acuahdos, Quitoles, Camoles, Arraca, and many others. The men eventually choose to plot a northerly course, 'río arriba' and their growing group of Christian Indians accompanies them (157).

After traveling for some time and with these many different Indian nations, Cabeza de Vaca recounts their encounter with a group who are both more lightly skinned and also afflicted with blindness. From where the four men found this group while heading due West towards the South Sea, Cabeza de Vaca notes that they could see the Sierras of the Mar del Norte (1,198):

Otro día nos traxeron toda la gente del pueblo. Y la mayor parte de ellos son tuertos de nuves, y otros dellos son çiegos de ellas mismas de que estábamos espantados. Son muy bien dispuestos y de muy buenos gestos, más blancos que otros ninguons de quantos hasta allí avíamos visto. Aquí empeçamos a ver sierras y paresçia que venían seguidas de hazia el Mar del Norte. Y assí por la relación que los indios desto nos dieron, creemos que están quinze leguas de la mar. De aquí nos partimos con estos indios hazia estas sierras que dezimos (1, 198).

The next day they brought us all the people of the village. And the majority of them were blind in one eye from a clouded spot that they have in it, and the others of them are completely blind because of them; about all this we were astonished. They are very well proportioned and of very good features, whiter than any others of all those we had seen up to that point. Here we began to see mountains, and it seemed that they came in a chain from toward the North Sea. And thus by the account that the Indians gave use about this, we believe that they are fifteen leagues from the sea. From here we departed with these Indians, heading toward these sierras to which we refer (199).

Krieger explains that of the many geographical analyses done, many place the men erroneously in the plains of central Texas, where there are no mountains (58). Others attribute the 15 league distance to the sea offered by Cabeza de Vaca to falsehood or faulty memory (58).

The same critic suggests a different location, naming two possibilities: the Sierra Panorames in northern Tamaulipas, originally stated by Coopwood; and the Sierra de Cerralvos, also in Tamaulipas. Davenport and Wells describe a southwest crossing of the Río Grande near Penitas, where the travelers would have seen the Sierra Pamoranes and the Sierra San Carlos sweeping into the North Sea (238). Nevertheless, returning to the references made solely by Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo, the mountains were 15 leagues from the North Sea and that they were a cordillera. As the North Sea refers to any region touching the Atlantic, one must consider how the men had come 'río arriba'.

In this case, the reader must question the vantage point from which Cabeza de Vaca writes based on the multiple locations provided by critics, such as Davenport and Wells, Krieger, Adorno and Pautz, as well as the others mentioned above. The fact that Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca use descriptions and directions in accordance

with southerly locations reaffirms that Cabeza de Vaca continues to distance himself from traditional medical theory. Instead he provides descriptions of the Indians that not only do not correspond with their supposed locations but fracture the notion of geography as being fundamentally determinative of one's disposition and capacity for learning the Gospels.

While traveling with the group, social order consisted of following Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico, as the leaders, who in turn, could communicate to them the will of God. When the Indians do not follow the wishes of the four men and disagree to lead the men West, Cabeza de Vaca spends the night away from them to express his anger (1,217). Afterwards, many of the Indians become sick, and some die. Cabeza de Vaca explains that the illness and deaths had not been the four men's will. Yet, when they pray to God to intervene and to stop the deaths, the illness disappears. The Indians are shown that God has control over sickness, death, and restoration to health, and that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions' wills are connected to that of God. Even though the Indians had not harmed Cabeza de Vaca and the others, because they had not done as was asked of them, they were punished. In order to be granted both physical and spiritual health, the Indians were not to disobey their leaders. Disobedience would disrupt the natural hierarchy and cause spiritual disorder, manifest in physical disease.

The Indians quickly agree to help and thereby restore this pyramid-like hierarchy with God at its apex, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions at the center, and the Indians providing sustenance. Cabeza de Vaca and his friends beseech God to save the sick members of the group, who are healed. None of the Indians grieve their

losses in front of the four men out of fear that their negative reaction could be understood as dissatisfaction and again incite divine punishment:

Y vimos una cosa que fue de grande admiración, que los padres y los hermanos y mugeres de los que morieron, de verlos en aquel estado tenían gran pena, y después de muertos ningún sentimiento hizieron, ni los vimos llorar ni hablar unos con otros, ni hazer otra ninguna muestra; no osavan llegar a ellos hasta que nosotros los mandávamos llevar a enterrar... porque una lloró la llevaron muy lexos de allí. Y con unos dientes de ratón agudos la sajaron desde los hombros hasta casi todas las piernas. Y yo, viendo esta crueldad y enojado dello, les pregunté que por qué lo hazían. Y respondieron que para castigarla porque avía llorado delante de mí. Yodos estos temores que ellos tenían ponían a todos los que nuevamente venían a conosçernos, a fin que nos diesen todo quanto tenían... (1, 218-220).

And we saw a thing that was of great wonder, that is, the parents and brothers and sisters and wives of those who died, upon seeing them in that state, suffered much grief, and after they died, they expressed no sentiment, neither did we see them weep nor speak to one another nor make any other gesture; neither did they dare to go to them until we ordered them to bury them... because one woman wept, they took her very far from there. And with some sharp teeth of a rat they lacerated her from her shoulders to almost the bottom of her legs. And seeing this cruelty and angered by it, I asked them why they did it. And they responded that it was in order to punish her because she had wept in front of me. All these fears that they had they put in all the others who newly came to meet us, to the end that they would give us everything... (219-221).

The civic body now assumes the role of enforcing obedience to God in order to protect itself from divine wrath, with physical pain used as punishment. The Indians fear that God would view the woman's sadness as a negative reaction towards his actions and therefore he would worsen the illness that had come upon them. As a result, other members of the group, tear the flesh of this woman for mourning visibly over the death of her child.

In this way, Cabeza de Vaca reaffirms the physical destruction of one's body as punishment for sin. The connection between disease and defeat corresponds with

medical theory from Huarte, who explained that those that are more apt to sin are from regions of more extreme climates. Their bodies are deformed just like their souls. Sepúlveda's position that the Indians are *siervos a natura* that must submit to the Castilians is grounded in this premise. The temperate Castilians, then, should also have perfect bodies to correspond with their tempered souls.

However, in the past, Cabeza de Vaca had emphasized the natural light of reason that the Indians possess. In the same way, he emphasizes the perfection of their physiques on multiple occasions:

Ésta es la más presta gente para una armada de quantas yo he visto en el mundo... (1, 182).

... si temor les conosçen o alguna codicia, ella es gente que sabe conocer tiempos en que vengarse, y toman esfuerço del temor de los contrarios... Veen y oyen mas y tienen más agudo sentido que quantos hombres yo creo que ay en el mundo (1, 184).

Es la gente de mejores cuerpos que vimos y de mayor biveza y habilidad y que mejor nos entendían y respondían en lo que preguntávamos (1, 222).

Por todas estas tierras los que tenían guerras con los otros se hazían luego amigos para venirnos a resçibir y traernos todo quanto tenían. Y desta manera dexamos toda la tierra y dixímosles por las señas, porque nos entendían, que en el cielo avía un hombre que llamávamos Dios, el qual avía criado el cielo y la tierra, y que éste adorávamos nosotros y teníamos por Señor, y que hazíamos lo que nos mandava, y que de su mano venían todas las cosas buenas, y que si ansí ellos lo hiziessen les iría muy bien dello. Y tran grande aparejo hallamos en ellos que si lengua huviera, con que perfetamente nos entendiéramos, todos los dexáramos christianos. Esto les dimos a entender lo mejor que podimos. Y de aí adelante, quando el sol salía, con muy gran grita abrían las manos juntas al çielo y después traían por todo su cuerpo. Y otro tanto hazían quando se ponía. Es gente bien acondiçionada [y] para seguir qualquier cosa bien aparejada (1, 232-234).

These are the people most fit for war of all I have seen in the world... (183).

... if they know that their enemy has fear or some sort of greed, they are the people who know how to recognize the times in which to take vengeance and they take advantage of the fears of their enemies... They see and hear more and they have sharper senses than any other men than I think there are in the world (185).

...they are the people with the most well formed bodies we saw and of the greatest vitality and capacity and who best understood and responded to what we asked them... (223).

Throughout all these lands those who were at war with one another later made friends in order to come to receive us and bring us everything they had. And in this manner we left the entire land and we told them by signs, and because they understood us, that in heaven, there was a man whom we called God, who created the heaven and the earth, and that we adored him and served him as Lord, and that we did whatever he commanded us, and that from his hand came all good things, and if thus they were to do it, it would go very well for them. And we found such great readiness in them, that if we had had an interpreter through whom we could have left all of them Christians. Thus we gave them to understand as best we could. And henceforth when the sun rose, with very great shouting they opened their joined hands to the sky and afterward passed them over their entire bodies. And they did the same when the sun set. They are people of good disposition and diligent [and] well equipped to follow any course (233-235).

Many of the peoples Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico encounter are deemed the most physically fit they have seen in the world, skilled in the art of war, and also completely apt to accept the Word of God. By portraying the Indians in such a manner, Cabeza de Vaca again turns the notion of the climate and terrain of one's place of origin into a determinant of one's disposition upside down.

In his travels among many different kinds of Indians, many are moved to kindness towards Cabeza de Vaca and his companions upon seeing their miracles. Their places of origin and natural capacities, despite the latitude which is in question, are not impediments to learning the Word of God. Las Casas would refute Sepúlveda's statement that the less perfect need submit to the more perfect in a

similar way. It would only be feasible if all men were of a like kind. In Cabeza de Vaca's tale, the reader sees that despite the differing customs of the many indigenous peoples, all have a resounding ability to learn and practice Christianity, whereas the Castilians of Narváez's expedition did not.

The men will continue a course plotted North and West toward the South Sea, during which time they will encounter several indigenous communities and receive gifts for their healing. Yet, based on the descriptions, the places of the Indians' origins do not correspond with the northern latitudes. On the contrary, the Indians' physiques and behaviors correspond with those of the giants from *Esplandián*, or people from the south. Moreover, as the men continue in their travels, they encounter people who give them precious stones, such as turquoises, corals, and emeralds. According to medical theory, like the gold that lined the armor of the Californian women, the jewels were supposed to have come from places of the same latitudinal parallel as India. Only extreme climates were to produce such valuables. According to traditional medical theory, these climates would also produce fierce and cruel beings. At the same time, if the Indians were in northerly latitudes, they would be brutish and unintelligent. Curiously, the four Christians are not confronted with force or threatened. They are rewarded continually by the Indians in gratitude for their healing. Cabeza de Vaca continues to overturn the notion of geohumoral theory, in which one's place of origin would be determinant of a person's disposition. He does so by representing the Indians as easily converted and generous.

As the four Christians move toward the provinces of the South Sea, they find evidence of other Castilians. Oviedo then notes that the men are approximately 200

leagues from Culucan to where the conquistador Nuño de Guzmán had built a town and pacified the Indians. From there, the men crossed the sierras arriving at Villa de los Corazones. Cabeza de Vaca, however, remarks on the abundance of different languages the men encounter but does not mention the crossing of sierras as Oviedo does (235). Here, Cabeza de Vaca explains the importance of Corazones to other travelers:

... es la entrada para muchas provincias que están a la Mar del Sur. Y si los que fueren a buscar por aquí no entraren, se perderán, porque la costa no tiene maíz y comen polvo de bledo y de paja y de pescado que toman en la mar con balsas porque no alcançan canoas (1, 234).

...the entrance to many provinces that lie towards the South Sea. And if those who should go searching for it do not pass through here, they will perish, because the coast has no maize, and they eat powders of lambs'-quarters, and of grass and of fish that they take in the sea with rafts because they do not have canoes (235).

Cabeza de Vaca does not at this time draw a connection between the location of Corazones and Culican.

At the same time, they encounter abandoned land, where the Indians that do remain are scared to interact with Cabeza de Vaca and his companions because of the violence they had been subjected to by the Europeans passing through. The new Castilians have brought death to peoples and land, and their presence has the effect of disease. Such destruction is caused by their searching out of personal riches through enslavement of Indians rather than preaching of the Gospels. Cabeza de Vaca notes how hunger and despair had overtaken the Indian peoples because of what the Castilians had done:

... aun contáronnos como otras vezes avían entrado los christianos por la tierra, y avían destruido y quemado los pueblos y llevado la mitad

de los hombres y todas las mugeres y mochachos... los víamos tan atemorizados sin osar parar en ninguna parte... estaban determinados de dexarse morir, y que esto tenían por mejor que esperar ser tratados con tanta crueldad como hasta allí... (1, 238-240).

...they even told us how other times the Christians had entered the land and had destroyed and burned the villages and carried off half of the men and all of the women and boys... we saw them so terrorized that they dare not stop in any place... determined to let themselves die, and they considered this better than waiting to be treated with as much cruelty... (239-241).

Cabeza de Vaca assures these Indians that he and his companions will go and tell the other Christians not to kill or enslave them.

As the Indians, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico travel on, they encounter more poverty and destruction inflicted by their fellow countrymen.

Cabeza de Vaca notes with some surprise that even after facing such brutality from the Castilians, the Indians do not retaliate or seek revenge. Instead he and his companions are shown kindness and reverence, and many Indians are converted to Christianity:

... llegados a los que tenían la frontera con los cristianos y guerra con ellos nos avían de maltratar y hazer que pagássemos lo que los cristianos contra ellos hazían. Mas como Dios nuestro Señor fue servido de traernos hasta ellos, començaronnos a temer y a catar como los pasados y aun algo más, de que no quedamos poco maravillados, por donde claramente se vee que estas gentes todas, para ser atraídos a ser christianos y a obediencia de la Imperial Magestad, an de ser llevados con buen tratamiento, y que éste es camino muy çierto y no otro (1,240).

...when we arrived at the ones who held the frontier against the Christians and were at war with them, they would treat us cruelly and make us pay for what the Christians were doing to them. But since God our Lord was served to bring us to them, they began to fear and respect us as the previous ones had done, and even somewhat more, about which we were not a little amazed, by which it is clearly seen that all these peoples, to be drawn to become Christians and to

obedience to the Imperial majesty, must be given good treatment, and this is the path most certain and no other (241).

Here Cabeza de Vaca cautions the emperor by recounting the peaceful conversion of so many from whom vengeance had been expected and even merited. The Indians show their natural light yet again, being drawn to Christ, whereas the Castilians choose not to overcome their sinful condition.

As mentioned in the first chapter, one's disposition and place of origin would cause a certain kind of disease in a man. The Castilians demonstrate their disposition by causing much destruction with the use of force to subjugate non-Christians for personal slaves. Rather than seemingly corresponding with temperaments of people from the temperate corridor, these behaviors correspond with natures of people from above the Septentrion. For example, Esplandián and King Lisuarte were both from Great Britain, which is above the Tropic of Cancer. They too had great strength and could cause much destruction in order to subjugate non-Christians. However, Esplandián overcame his condition and used his might only in the service of God and crown. He defeated non-Christians only to protect other Christians, defend his emperors, and serve God. For this reason, he was guaranteed victory, and came to rule. Cabeza de Vaca, likewise, reaffirms this chivalric paradigm through his continual dedication and faith in God. He too is a spiritual knight, who has been guaranteed safe passage from captivity to spiritual leadership through his apostolic mission.

Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico differ from the other Castilians because they overcome their disease. They use their strength of faith to convert others rather than to amass wealth. This distinction confounds the Indians,

who cannot believe that these four men are from the same place as the others. The Indians will not abandon the group with Cabeza de Vaca and his companions out of fear of what the Castilians may do. With the group of Christians, the Indians do not fear the Castilians or their weapons, at which they become angry:

A los cristianos les pesava desto, y hazían que su lengua les dixesse que nosotros éramos dellos mismos y nos avíamos perdido muchos tiempos avía, y que éramos gente de poca suerte y valor, y que ellos eran los señores de la tierra a quien avían de obedesçer y servir (1, 248).

The Christians were disturbed by this, and they made their interpreter tell them that we were of the same people as they, and that we had been lost for a long time, and that we were people of ill fortune and no worth, and that they were the lords of the land whom the Indians should serve and obey (249).

Cabeza de Vaca explains how the Christians attempt to invalidate his authority, almost comically, with the truth. The Castilians tell the Indians that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had wandered for years but had no authority. Rather, the Castilians explain that they have authority, as lords of the land, and that the Indians must obey them. Yet the Indians do not believe the conquistadors.

The Indians are not convinced that Cabeza de Vaca and his friends are of the same nation as the conquistadors. How could the Castilians also be of the same nation as Cabeza de Vaca, serving the same God, and yet act as they do? The Indians openly question what the Castilians have said:

...los cristianos mention, porque nosotros veníamos de donde salía el sol y ellos de donde se pone, y que nosotros sanávamos los enfermos y ellos matavan los que estavan sanos, y que nosotros veníamos desnudos y descalços y ellos vestidos y en cavallos y con lanças y nosotros no teníamos codiçia de ninguna cosa antes todo quanto nos davan tornávamos luego a dar y con nada nos quedávamos y los otros no tenían otro fin sino robar todo quanto hallavan y nunca davan nada

a nadie. Y desta manera traían todas nuestras cosas y las encarescían por el contrario de los otros (1, 248-250).

...the Christians were lying, because we came from where the sun rose, and they from where it set; and that we cured the sick, and that they killed those who were well; and that we came naked and barefoot, and they went about dressed and on horses with lances; and that we did not covet anything, but rather, everything they gave us we later returned and remained with nothing, and that the others had no other objective but to steal everything they found and did not give anything to anyone. And in this manner, they conveyed everything about us and held it in high esteem to the detriment of the others... (249-251).

The Castilians are represented as nearly opposites of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. Cabeza de Vaca came from the West, or South Sea, whereas the Castilians have come from the East. Also, not only in dress, but more importantly in action, the conquistadors do not live as Christians. Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico are portrayed as carrying out an apostolic mission, in which God gives them strength to heal in exchange for faith. Yet, the Castilians, who claim to be Christian, harm even the innocent and healthy, and they take everything rather than giving. To the Indians, the Castilians' actions do not correspond with the professed faith, and this invalidates, to them, their assertions that Cabeza de Vaca and the others could be of the same nation or have no authority.

Cabeza de Vaca further demarcates a separation between him and his friends and the other Castilians. Cabeza de Vaca explains that even when they rejoin the Castilians to travel north together, that they deceive him, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico. They do so to carry out slave raids upon the Indians to whom they had agreed to leave in peace, if they would return and sow their lands while living as Christians:

Y por apartarnos de conversación de los indios, nos llevaron por los montes despoblados a fin que no viésemos lo que ellos hazían ni sus tratamientos, porque tenían acordados de ir a dar en los indios que enbiávamos assegurados y de paz. Y así lo pensaron lo hizieron (1, 252).

And in order to remove us from conversation with the Indians, they lead us through areas depopulated and overgrown so that we would not see what they were doing nor their conduct, because they had conspired to go and attack the Indians whom we had sent away reassured and in peace. And they carried it out just as they had planned it (253).

The Castilians not only deceive the Indians and the four men, but others within their own group. They lead many into unknown territory with the specific purpose of keeping the men away from the Indians. Thus being lost, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions could not warn the Indians of ensuing attacks. At the same time, even some of the conquistadors' own men die in the journey. The conquistadors do not choose to live by their faith and to overcome their diseased conditions. On the contrary, they act as brutes, using their strength for personal gain. They have already heard the Gospels and rejected their teachings. As a result, several of them are killed in route. Both in *Esplandián* and in Cabeza de Vaca's tale, those who strayed from the Word of God for personal gain were also killed in their journeys.

Cabeza de Vaca portrays himself and his companions as carrying out the correct way to attract people to the faith and a new way of life. Like *Esplandián*, who also was a knight from Great Britain, Cabeza de Vaca creates a Christian civic body united by faith. *Esplandián*'s story depends on enacting just war to save his grandfather, King Lisuarte, and to protect the Christian emperors of Constantinople from pagan and infidel attacks. In the case of the *Relación*, the Indians have not provoked the wrath of the Castilians. Moreover, when the four men were held

captive and made to do labor, they became vendors. Instead of violence, they used their faith as a mechanism by which to save themselves and then move on to other communities.

In this way, Cabeza de Vaca promotes peaceful evangelization rather than subjugation of many nations. More often than not, the Indians do not meet Sepúlveda's criteria to be made war upon; they are not *siervos a natura*; they do not worship idols; the innocent do not need protection from them; and propagation of the faith is successfully carried out. More so, these peoples freely allow commerce with Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, which was one of the causes why, according to yet another sixteenth-century thinker, Fray Vitoria, a non-Christian could be deprived of property and sovereignty. Cabeza de Vaca and his friends act as healers, restoring health to the body and to the soul and battling spiritual disorder, which affects both Castilians and Indians alike with physical harm.

In both tales, Cabeza de Vaca, similar to Esplandián, is from a northerly region. According to medical theory then, both would be less intelligent than physically adept. Nevertheless, because both Esplandián and Cabeza de Vaca have unwavering faith, they are granted victory in any occasion. Unlike Esplandián, Cabeza de Vaca portrays himself as being a spiritual knight, who uses his belief in Christ to affect physical realities. Whereas Esplandián uses might to bring about conversion of non-Christians, Cabeza de Vaca uses peaceful means in order to build a united Christian social body and heal bodily and spiritual disease. Through his faith, Cabeza de Vaca also proves his loyalty to the Spanish crown. In the story, God protects him, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico for their steadfastness. In this

way, Cabeza de Vaca explains that he is able to deliver his story to Charles for the future success of Christian settlement in the New World.

In the first chapter, traditional medical theory from the sixteenth century is discussed in order to understand how the terrain and climate of one's place of origin were used to diagnose a person's disposition. As noted, people of particular latitudes were thought to be ontologically similar, and therefore kinds of peoples were classified based on latitudinal parallels of known geography. Upon arrival to the New World, the Castilian's vantage point of the known world placed Iberia in a temperate corridor. In this way, medical theory was used to legitimize conquest, as they were considered more tempered to rule over people of extreme climates and torrid zones, who also did not practice Christianity. God had designed the universe in such a way that his message must be delivered to all. Thus, not only are the Castilians most apt to rule, but that this was out of divine providence.

In Montalvo's *Esplandián*, the author develops his characters in accordance with such medical paradigms. Non-Christians originate from distant lands of extreme heat and moisture. Their cruelty, strength, and astuteness must be met with might, but could only be overcome with the help of God. Esplandián's enemies are diametrically opposed to him in both creed and disposition, and yet both had to choose Christianity to be saved. A Christian was guaranteed earthly and spiritual protection and rewards, but one who feigned faith would lose both. The tale provides examples of how Christians can legitimately wage war on both pagans and infidels. Enemies of the faith from the Far East and North Africa are used as models for future interactions with non-Christians in the New World. The text is used to encourage

political unity under the Catholic monarchs, inspire travel to the New World, spread Christianity, and conquer non-believers through examples of chivalry.

In contrast to Montalvo's narrative, Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* is based upon an unprecedented nine-year sojourn through the New World with Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico. The author recounts how such an experience came to be, having started out as a record keeper of the King's assets on Pánfilo de Narváez's shipwrecked expedition. Cabeza de Vaca, like Montalvo, utilizes a chivalric trope to explain how he and his three companions manage to survive the trials and tribulations of being in a distant land. Critics do not yet have accurate or precise locations of routes or places or origin of the indigenous nations whose customs Cabeza de Vaca describes in detail.

Nevertheless, understanding of the confines of the globe had changed fundamentally since the initial arrival of Columbus to the Indies 35 years prior to Narváez's expedition. By the time of the fateful voyage, Spain had been permanently dislodged from its place in the temperate corridor to northern latitudes. As a result, the use of medical theory in texts to describe peoples and places would reflect this destabilization. On the one hand, if Spanish interests were in play, how could old paradigms be appropriated to reaffirm the crown's authority? On the other hand, if one's own interests were at stake, how could these paradigms be manipulated to promote one's own agenda? Specifically because of the shift in how the world was viewed, one must reexamine how Cabeza de Vaca portrays peoples in the text with regards to their ontological similarities with peoples of similar latitudes. That is, one must consider how he represents the Indians he encounters and then what this means

in relation to the existence of so many cartographic anomalies, which existed both above and below the Tropic of Cancer. One must acknowledge that Cabeza de Vaca plotted from memory his journey across a continent after nine years. Yet, there are names of indigenous communities with customs that provide a compelling, if not confusing question as to Cabeza de Vaca's locations and motivations for representing peoples in such a way when examining such ambiguities.

Instead of the uniform hostility with which Christian knights are met in Montalvo's text, the majority of non-Christian indigenous natives are easily converted. Cabeza de Vaca does not create types of Indians, as did Montalvo with his giants. Montalvo's characters were made from an amalgam of sources and experience fighting in the Iberian Peninsula. As a result, his characters were not historical figures whereas the Indians in Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* are the recounting of personal experience. For this reason, the way in which Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca use medical theory may be different in terms of historical reference. The fact remains that in the sixteenth century, medical theory was based on latitude and ontological similarities. The knights in Montalvo's text are from the North, and very physically apt but not as astute as the giants from the South. Esplandián and his men win their battles against the Persians and other non-Christians through belief in God. Even though the giants are of great strength and military prowess, they are defeated.

Similarly, the people in Cabeza de Vaca's text are shown to have large bodies, often being referred to as giants or likened to them. They too are adept and skillful warriors. Many parallels then can be drawn between theoretical peoples from the

South in Montalvo's text and the many actual indigenous groups in Cabeza de Vaca's text. We see other examples of customs present that reaffirm this ontological parallel. Some groups also are identified as having burial and marriage customs. Moreover, the majority of the nations with whom the four men come into contact are readily baptized. Much like Frandalo, who recognizes the strength of Manelli the Measured, a much smaller but Christian knight, the Indians are also portrayed as recognizing the power of God through the works of the much smaller four Christians. Both Manelli and Cabeza de Vaca are Christians and wage battle in the name of God; one with a sword and one with the sign of the cross. Those who unite with the Christian cause are saved and healed. The Indians are not only like Frandalo physically then, but also intellectually too. They choose to overcome their spiritual disease and serve God with these four men as their leaders throughout their sojourn.

If we were to continue to use *Esplandián* as a model to analyze Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, one notes how Cabeza de Vaca advocates also for his own leadership skills. He does not suggest himself as a new monarch as Esplandián was named. Yet considering the desire to return to the New World and gain a new post, Cabeza de Vaca indeed shows himself as an apt ruler. This is reaffirmed by his governance using faith to guide peoples he portrays as ontologically superior. At the same time, he utilizes his role as a benevolent leader and healer to provide an example for future explorers. Cabeza de Vaca advocates for the good treatment of the Indians, who he has shown through personal experience are not only capable of accepting the Word of God but better able to live out the message of Christ than his fellow countrymen. Yet again, another ontological parallel can be drawn between the

Spaniards in the text and peoples of the far North, and therefore would be more diseased than the Indians.

By using faith as a predictive tool for the outcomes of history, then, Cabeza de Vaca's tale provides a cautionary note to the Castilian men he encounters as well as the rest of the empire. In Cabeza de Vaca's text, survival is portrayed as a Christian victory over death. In the same way, the men are granted power through their faith to heal the sick Indians, who convert to Christianity. Thus, Cabeza de Vaca reaffirms the transitioning initiatives of the Spanish crown from conquest to pacification. At the same time, he is able to question treatment of the Indians by conquistadors already in the New World. Cabeza de Vaca does this by providing detailed descriptions of many peoples of the New World who would readily be baptized through peaceful means.

Chapter 4: Speak No Ill of the Dead: Healing Spiritual Disease in Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia General de Las Cosas de Nueva España*

In this chapter, I explore the connection between medical discourse and narrative practices used by Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún in his *Historia General de Las Cosas de Nueva España* (finished circa 1578 and published in 1829). Using medical discourse to frame his observations as well as information received from indigenous communities, Sahagún critiques the development of Castilian infrastructure and governance in New Spain as well as how this impacted the spiritual well-being of the Indians. According to the friar,

El médico no puede acertadamente aplicar las medicinas al enfermo, sin que primero conozca de qué humor, o de qué causa procede la enfermedad; de manera, que el buen médico, conviene sea doctor en el conocimiento de las medicinas, y en el de las enfermedades, para aplicar convenientemente a cada enfermedad la medicina contraria: puesto que los predicadores y confesores, médicos son de las almas, para curar las enfermedades espirituales conviene que tengan experiencia de las medicinas y de las enfermedades espirituales (Sahagún 1, 9).

The doctor cannot rightly apply medicine to the sick without first knowing from which humor or from which cause proceeds the illness; so, the good doctor should be learned in the knowledge of medicines and in that of illnesses, in order to apply suitably to every disease the contrary medicine: since preachers and confessors, are doctors of souls, in order to cure spiritual illnesses [they] should have experience of spiritual medicines and diseases.

Sahagún establishes a parallel between medical doctors and religious leaders.

Medical doctors cure illnesses with knowledge of the body as well as of diseases.

Through their experience, they are able to identify the cause of such sicknesses and thereby heal a man with the application of contrary medicine to rebalance the body.

Similarly, Sahagún asserts that religious leaders are also doctors, but of spiritual illnesses. By understanding the conditions of a man's soul and the kinds of

sicknesses that may affect him, the preacher can also cure him of his sinful state.

However, the two forms of healing are not simply comparable. They are intricately linked because an imbalanced body created perilous conditions for the soul.

In previous chapters, I have examined how peoples have been portrayed in accordance with medical theory of the sixteenth century. In *Esplandián*, Montalvo constructed fictional representations of non-Christians by drawing on the belief that ontological similarities existed between peoples of similar latitudes. By using already known information about peoples from distant places, Montalvo created verisimilar depictions of non-Christians. These non-Christian characters take shape based upon historical as well as fictional depictions of interactions that had already taken place in the Far East. In this way, Montalvo provided a predictive device for anticipating what non-Christians could be like in the New World.

Also, Montalvo offered a guide book, in which case studies of spiritual deviation are played out so that Christian protocol for legitimate war was followed and victory could be assured. Montalvo's text is theoretical and not based on any kind of personal experience in the New World. Instead, he participated in the War of Granada. As a result, his constructions of non-Christians are a combination of that experience as well as medical theory, which was to provide guidance in future endeavors.

However, Cabeza de Vaca traveled to the New World and spent nine years among different indigenous communities on his first voyage while trekking thousands of miles across the American continent. Cabeza de Vaca also relied on chivalric tropes of service to God and to the empire as a justification for his actions as well as

an explanation for his survival in the *Relación* he recounts. Cabeza de Vaca's representations of the many Indians, whom he, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico encountered are based upon personal experiences.

Moreover, Cabeza de Vaca's appointment in the Narváez expedition was that of treasurer. Cabeza de Vaca was charged with protecting the King's financial interests during their travels by documenting assets. Cabeza de Vaca kept track of resources provided by the King and also those that could later be appropriated by the crown, in essence writing a survey of the terrain and what belonged to Charles in his new domain. In Cabeza de Vaca's account, there are competing interests as to how one should represent the Indians and their actions as well as the Christians and their behaviors. In accordance with medical theory, the Christians should have been depicted as behaving in a tempered fashion because of their place of origin being the Mediterranean basin. At the same time, the Indians should have been portrayed as having spiritually deviant behaviors because of the moist environments from which they originated.

In Montalvo's text, the attributes of the characters correspond to profiles of creatures afflicted by extreme geohumoral effects. In Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, the author deviates from depicting the Indians and Castilians as having bodily characteristics and spiritual inclinations believed to be caused by specific climatic influences. When comparing the two texts, it becomes clear that the degree of personal experience of the history-writer practitioner in the land about which he writes affects how he represents peoples according to traditional systems of medical classification.

Montalvo constructs his non-Christian characters as kinds or types of peoples. Cabeza de Vaca utilizes specificity within his representations of many different indigenous groups, which does not permit such categorizations. Cabeza de Vaca does rely on the chivalric narrative tradition to provide a guide for future explorers like Montalvo's guide book before him. At the same time, Cabeza de Vaca's undoing of such typification of kinds of peoples, like Montalvo's depictions of non-Christians, points to a questioning of imperial policies that supported making war upon peoples without knowledge of their customs.

In Montalvo's text, the Christian knights always provided exemplary behavior from which fellow believers as well as other non-Christians could learn. Likewise, in Cabeza de Vaca's text, he, Del Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico were servants of God. Both Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca attribute their reason for writing to providing guidance to future explorers. Montalvo's text contains differing situations, in which war could be made against non-Christians. Unlike Montalvo, Cabeza de Vaca's narrative recounts economic and evangelical forms of interaction with various indigenous groups.

Cabeza de Vaca tells a story of living among many peoples, learning their languages and forms of interactions. Such peaceful evangelization and mercantile exchange proves to be a much more effective way of carrying out pacification than following a military model to make war upon the Indians. Upon consideration of Cabeza de Vaca's role as treasurer of the Narváez expedition, one is left to ponder the cost-effectiveness of these two kinds of models for imperial expansion and settlement. In making a decision to follow one model instead of the other, those who

participated in conquest in the New World would decide what kinds of financial and spiritual gains the empire would reap in the future.

The difference in the way the two authors approach settlement in the New World reflects the time lapse between the productions of the two texts. Moreover, it reflects the transformation of the position of the crown towards non-Christian inhabitants of the New World, from expansion and conquest to pacification. Contrary to these two authors, Sahagún does not explicitly write to future explorers. Instead, he explores the consequences from the behaviors of those who had come to the New World during the times in which Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca had written. Based on the devastation narrated, Sahagún points out the incongruity between what were supposed to be models followed in order to achieve peaceful conquest and what actually happened.

In Sahagún's *Historia*, information about traditions, beliefs, rituals, and customs were gathered from local elders of indigenous groups in response to the Franciscan's inquiries. In the past, medical theory had been used by Montalvo to create depictions of non-Christian peoples in order to legitimize conquest of them and their lands. Divergence from such patterns was then used by Cabeza de Vaca to question actions of those carrying out such formulaic means of making war on non-Christians in order to solidify Castilian sovereignty. Still, Cabeza de Vaca did show support for Castilian settlement of the New World through peaceful means of evangelization. Both he and Montalvo rely upon chivalric tropes to portray the arrival of the Spanish to the New World as a new dawn to unite all peoples into a

social body, in which those non-Christians that converted could be healed of their sinful conditions.

In contrast to Cabeza de Vaca and Montalvo, Sahagún does not equate the settlement of the New World with the triumph of Christianity or the creation of a unified civic body. The Franciscan recounts how the Spanish decimate the Indians. In his narrative, medical theory is present and used to link man's behaviors to the climate. However, the friar represents the imposition of Castilian customs as the cause for sin that continues to persist even after settlement. Instead of enforcing new laws upon the Indians, Sahagún collects knowledge about the Indians' spiritual and medical beliefs

This acceptance and inclusion of non-Christian customs for the betterment of the Christian social body represents a paradigm shift. In Montalvo's text, non-Christian forms of cohabitation were not accepted under any circumstances. Yet, no enemy of the faith is warred upon simply because of their beliefs. Three distinct examples are given in which it is licit for Christians to subjugate the infidels. In each of the cases, the non-Christians come from fictional places that are near to actual distant lands of extreme climatic conditions. Thus, peoples from these places would be distempered and sinful. The Christians needed to conquer the peoples to protect themselves from attack and to protect these peoples from their own perdition. Those from the temperate corridor could teach the less tempered Christian beliefs, customs and laws so that the disease of non-Christianity could be eradicated.

In Cabeza de Vaca's text, the people's portrayed were actual indigenous groups with whom the four Castilian travelers had contact. One sees how the four

had to learn to adapt to differing living conditions among the many indigenous groups, which is shown in the many ways they had to gather food. Different from Montalvo's text, the four men do not use violence to overpower non-Christians. Instead they carry out ceremonies of Christian prayer over those who are ill. In exchange for healing, the Indians are baptized and disease is eliminated. Cabeza de Vaca records much information about the terrain the men cover, the foods they eat, and the peoples they encounter. Healing occurs only through the acceptance of Christianity. The Indians are also required to live as Christians and settle their lands, thereby changing their own customs to accept trade with Spaniards and their rule as well. The exchange of customs and recording of information is meant to be unilateral.

In the case of Sahagún, the exchange of information was not meant to be unilateral. The fact that knowledge of the old ways persists is not met with fear or disdain. Rather, Sahagún gathers volumes of information from many different elders of the indigenous communities about the religious rites and ceremonies as well as the medical practices used for healing:

Hay una yerba medicinal que se llama cocoyactic, de ésta usan los medicos en principio de su cura, hácese como cabeza de ajos debajo de la tierra. Cuando comienzan a curar algún enfermo, muelen esta yerba juntamente con su raíz, y su semilla, echan un poquito en las narices del enfermo, y si echan en cantidad, luego saca sangre de las narices, hácese en el lugar que se llama Motlauhauhcan, que es a la orilla de las montañas de Quauhnhuac (2, 416).

There is a medicinal herb called cocoyactic, which doctors use at the beginning of their healing, you make it like a head of garlic beneath the earth. When they begin to cure a sick person, they grind this herb together with its root, and its seed, they put a little in the nostrils of the sick person, and if they put in a large quantity, they will get blood

from the nostrils, they do it in the place called Motlauhxauhcan, which is at the base of the mountains of Quauhnahuac.

In this part of the *Historia*, Sahagún describes how an indigenous physician would administer a medicinal herb to a sick person. The Castilians can only learn such information about medicinal properties of herbs through testimonies or experimentation. Hence, even though much knowledge was obtained during the time in which the Indians were not Christian, Sahagún does not judge it irredeemable, unsuitable, or unbeneficial to the budding Christian social body in the New World. Sahagún recognized how relying on past non-Christian traditions could actually strengthen the Castilians, firstly because such information would aid them in communication and secondly because they would be able to better understand how to interpret that which they would see. What's more is that because the lay of the land was so different from Europe, the information was needed as a base from which to build. Hence, while the Indians could be converted, their customs could help to aid in remedying social disease that continued to exist because of the Spaniards' lack of familiarity with the terrain.

Sahagún's investigations of the indigenous inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico began some ten years after the fall of Tenotichlán. Conquest has already taken place, and Castilian infrastructure has been laid in place. His *Historia* represents a compilation of over forty years of working among the Indians. In his text, Sahagún combined the use of the chivalric trope of service to God and crown, medicinal and religious discourse, and ethnographic descriptions to produce a text that would guide future interactions in the New World. Similar to both Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca, Sahagún's text serves a medical as well as a theological purpose.

The information provided is supposed to offer a cure for spiritual deviance and assure the health of the growing Christian social body. Sahagún uses extreme specificity in recording Amerindian cultures, which is a practice we also see done to a lesser extent by Cabeza de Vaca in his *Relación*. Sahagún also breaks with traditional typologies of medical classification that Montalvo had used for legitimizing war upon non-Christians.

Even though Sahagún breaks with Montalvo's representations of peoples as products of their environment, Sahagún still relies on the belief in the effects of climate on the body. Sahagún uses the effects of climate to explain why Castilian administrators and Catholic religious leaders are having such difficulty with converting the Indians and governing them as well as the other Spaniards who had come to settle or were born there. Sahagún writes:

...no me maravillo tanto de las tachas y dislates de los naturales de esta tierra, porque los españoles que en ella habitan, y mucho más los que en ella nacen, cobran estas malas inclinaciones muy al propio de los indios; en el aspecto parecen españoles, y en las condiciones no lo son. Los que son naturales españoles, si no tienen mucho aviso, a pocos años andados de su llegada a esta tierra se hacen otros, y esto pienso que lo hace el clima o constelaciones de esta tierra... (2, 245).

I am not amazed so much by the blemishes and errors of the natives of this land, because the Spaniards that in it live, and much more those that here are born, gain these bad inclinations very unique to the Indians; in aspect, they seem Spanish and in conditions they are not. Those that are native Spaniards, if they do not have much warning, after a few years departed from their arrival at this land they become others and this I think that the climate or constellations of the land do...

In *Esplandián*, all peoples from lands with moist regions, heat, and southern latitudes would have specific body types that would match precise moral and intellectual aptitudes. In this case, climate of the land also affects adversely its original

inhabitants as well as those who spend any time there and are not attuned to guarding themselves from it. Sahagún does not specify exact latitudes of the region.

However, Sahagún describes on multiple occasions the potency of the effects of the region on men. He writes:

...porque la templanza y abundancia de esta tierra, y las constelaciones que en ella reinan, ayudan mucho a la naturaleza humana para ser viciosa y ociosa y muy dada a los vicios sensuales (2, 242-243).

... because the temperance and abundance of this land, and the constellations that over her reign, help greatly human nature to be vicious and lazy and very given to sensual vices.

The land is described as very plentiful, and the temperatures seem to cause its inhabitants to become cruel, indolent, and given over to sinful pleasures. As explained in the first chapter, such kinds of dispositions as well as the bountiful terrain would indicate according to traditional medical theory that the people are in the presence of moisture, heat, and near southern latitudes. These are all similar attributes shared with the non-Christian characters of *Esplandián*, such as Matroco, Frandalo, and Calaifa. Cabeza de Vaca also encountered cruel non-Christian Indians during his travels along coastal regions.

Nonetheless, while in Montalvo's text, there are both pagans and infidels, Cabeza de Vaca does not judge as idolatrous the customs of the Indians whom he encounters or the healing practices in which he participates. In each case, the history-writer practitioner aids in the teaching of these peoples of how to overcome their sickness, or the influence of climate through the following of Christ. In this way, they overcome their sinful natures and are able to be healed and saved.

Sahagún explains that long before the Spaniards arrived in this land, the ancients knew of the vices caused by the climate as well as how to overcome them:

...pero es gran vergüenza nuestra que los indios naturales, cuerdos y sabios antiguos, supieron dar remedio a los daños que esta tierra impone en los que en ella viven, obviando a las cosas naturales con contrarios ejercicios, y nosotros vamos al agua debajo de nuestras malas inclinaciones (2, 245).

...but it is to our great embarrassment that the native inhabitants, sane and wise ancients, knew how to remedy the damages that this land imposes on those that live here, obviating natural things with contrary exercises, and we are sinking beneath the water with our bad inclinations.

The ancients of the land, who had been portrayed as barbarous and lacking in knowledge by other Spaniards, were aware of the negative influences of the land on their peoples. For this reason, they established customs to follow in order to counterbalance them. Sahagún finds it shameful that since arriving, the Spaniards have not been able to inoculate themselves from such effects, and instead are falling victim to sinful practices caused by an imbalanced body.

In fact, Sahagún questions policies used to establish a Catholic colonial society, in which its own leaders are unable to withstand the adversities of the climate. On the one hand, there are great climatic extremes that the Spanish face, just like the Christians in both Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca's texts. On the other hand, in these narratives, Christianity was represented as the new way of life to which one must adhere in order to be healed. Sahagún does not represent the teaching of Christianity as having the same curing capacity as it did in Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca's stories. Rather, the native inhabitants already knew how to combat the vices

of the land. The arrival of the Spaniards is portrayed as having disrupted the Indians' existence:

... la filosofía moral enseñó por experiencia a estos naturales, que para vivir moral y virtuosamente era necesario el rigor, austeridad y ocupaciones continuas, en cosas provechosas a la república. Como esto cesó por la venida de los españoles, y porque ellos derrocaron y quisieron reducirlos a la manera de vivir en España, así en las cosas divinas como en las humanas, teniendo entendido que eran idólatras y bárbaros: perdióse todo el regimiento que tenían (2, 243).

... moral philosophy taught by experience to these natives, that in order to live morally and virtuously, rigor, austerity, and continual occupation were necessary, in things beneficial to the republic. As this ceased with the arrival of the Spanish and because they toppled and threw to the ground all of the customs and ways of ruling that these natives had, and wanted to reduce them to the way of living in Spain, this way in divine things as in human ones, having understood that they were idolatrous and barbarous: all rule they had was lost.

The Indians had developed a system, independent of Spain and Christianity, in which they were able to live morally and virtuously. The practices of austerity and continual work were used at once to enforce a code of moral conduct and to benefit their republic. Because the Spanish saw these customs as idolatrous and therefore barbaric, they rejected and destroyed the system by which the Indians had survived for generations. In doing so, the Indians lost their regimented ways of interactions. Before the arrival of the Castilians, Indians were sinful because of idolatry. With the presence of Christians, they had imbalanced bodies that caused them to no longer to be able to overcome sin.

Moreover, the Spaniards were not familiar with the terrain or how to combat these kinds of climatic effects. Even the Christian men themselves were becoming sinful. Sahagún does not differentiate between those who have been afflicted with the illness of the land. He writes, "...y cierto se cría una gente así española como

indiana, que es intolerable de regir, y pesadísima de salvar,” (2, 245)/ “... and its true people are raised both Spanish and Indian that are intolerable to rule and oppressive to save.” Through imposing a new way of living that did not require the same austerity or rigorous work, the Castilian way of life was having a negative influence on the Indians and the Catholic Castilian society that was supposed to be healing them. The Indians had become less virtuous in the process of being baptized because the code of conduct required of them in colonial society did not counterbalance the adverse conditions of the environment on man’s body.

Neither the Spanish nor the Amerindians were now able to combat the contrary influences the environment was having on their bodies and souls. Sahagún remarks that this is due to a lack of regard for any sort of authority:

...porque no tienen aquel temor y sujeción que antiguamente tenían, ni los criamos con aquel rigor y austeridad que se criaban en tiempo de su idolatría, no se sujetan ni se enseñan, ni toman lo que les aconsejan, como si estuvieran en aquella empresa pesada de los viejos antiguos... (2,245).

...because they do not have the same fear and submission that they had in the past, nor do we raise them with that rigor and austerity that they were raised within the time of their idolatry; they do not submit nor can they be taught, nor do they take the advice given them, as if they were in that exhausting business of the ancient elders...

Because the way people were raised had changed, the Indians do not submit to authority because there is no fear of the consequences. For example,

...cesó aquel rigor antiguo de castigar con pena de muerte las embriagueces, aunque ahora se castigan con azotarlos, trasquilarlos y venderlos por esclavos por años o meses, no es suficiente castigo para cesar de emborracharse, y aun tampoco las predicaciones muy frecuentes contra este vicio, ni amenazas del infierno bastan para refrenarles, y son estas borracheras tan detempladas y perjudiciales a la república, a la salud y salvación de los que las ejercitan, que por ellas se causan muchas muertes, pues se matan los unos a los otros

estando borrachos, se maltratan de obras y de palabras, y se causan grandes discensiones en la república (2, 244).

The old rigor of punishing drunkards by pain of death stopped, even though now they're punished with whipping them, shearing them and selling them as slaves for years or months, it is not sufficient in order to put a stop to intoxication, and not even very frequent preaching against this vice or threats of hell are enough to restrain them, and these drunks are so distempered and damaging to the republic, to health and salvation of those that practice them, that because of them are caused many deaths, for they kill one another being drunk, they mistreat [each other] with works and words, and they cause great dissension in the republic.

The Indians do not fear anger, reproach, beating, being sold into slavery, or damnation. According to the friar, the only form of punishment that had worked in the past was death. Castilian law and religion hold no command over the Indians unless one's life was threatened.

What was more concerning to Sahagún was that the younger Indians do not wish to be educated or accept council about their ways of living, which were so distinct during the time when their elders ruled. Sahagún offers the example of the inability of parents to communicate with children to demonstrate how civil order has nearly become inverted:

...los padres y las madres no se pueden entender con sus hijos e hijas, para apartarlos de los vicios y sensualidades que esta tierra cría; buen tino tuvieron los habitadores de esta región antiguos, en que criaban a sus hijos e hijas con la potencia de la república, y no les dejaban criar a sus padres... (2,245).

...fathers and mothers cannot understand their sons and daughters, in order to separate them from the vices and sensualities that this land grows; the ancient inhabitants of this region had good knack, in which they raised their sons and daughters with the potency of the republic, and were not allowed to raise their parents...

In the past, running of society was centered on the building and strengthening of the republic. Sahagún explains that children were brought up not only with respect for elders but also for traditions and rules used to maintain their way of life and placate their gods. The assumption that the destruction of idols had to be synonymous with elimination of customs and culture was disastrous to the health of the indigenous peoples. Religion ran through every aspect of the indigenous communities' cultures, from agriculture, to the judicial system, to economics. Also, religion was tied to medicine, history, and the government. Sahagún reminds his readers that by eliminating their republic and extirpating their idols, the Castilians had deprived the Amerindians of their societal foundations, upon which social order and authority were built.

As a result, the civil body that had emerged in New Spain with the arrival of the Christians was disordered, or diseased. Sahagún makes multiple references to this sickness, both as a figurative expression of the sinful state of society and as an actual illness that had fallen on the land. The destruction of the Indians is portrayed as the manifestation of this pestilence. Initially, Sahagún compares the devastation of the Indians to divine punishment. He uses the biblical passage from the prophet Jeremiah to explain how the Spanish would carry out the wrath of God and annihilate them:

...los que quisieren saber en poco tiempo muchas de sus antiguallas, y todo el lenguaje de esta gente mexicana; aprovechará mucho toda esta obra, para conocer el quilate de esta gente Mexicana, el cual aun no se ha conocido, porque vino sobre ellos aquella maldición que Jeremías de parte de Dios fulminó contra Judea y Jerusalén, diciendo en capítulo 5º: 'Yo hare que venso sobre vosotros... yo traeré contra vosotros una gente muy de lejos, gente muy robusta y esforzada, gente muy antigua y diestra en pelear, gente cuyo lenguaje no entenderéis ni jamás oísteis su manera de hablar; toda gente fuerte y animosa, codiciosísima de matar. Esta gente os destruirá a vosotros y a vuestras

mujeres e hijos, y todo cuanto poseéis, y destruirá todos vuestros pueblos y edificios.’ Esto a la letra ha acontecido a estos indios, con los españoles, pues fueron tan atropellados y destruídos ellos y todas sus cosas, que ninguna apariencia les quedó de lo que antes eran. Así tenidos por bárbaros, y por gente de bajísima quilate... (1, 11-12).

Those that wish to know in little time much of their antiquities, and all of the language of these Mexican people; will take much advantage of this work, in order to know the worth of these Mexican people, which has yet to be known, because that curse that Jeremiah on behalf of God fulminated against Judea and Jerusalem came over them, saying in the fifth chapter: ‘I will make that I vanquish over you... I will bring against you a people from very far, a very robust and strong people, a very old people skilled in fighting, people whose language you will not understand nor will have ever heard their way of speaking; all strong and spirited people, very greedy to kill. These people will destroy you and your women and children, and all that you possess, and they will destroy your villages and buildings.’ This to the letter has happened to these Indians, with the Spanish, as they were so run over and destroyed and all of their things that no semblance remained of what they were before. Because of this they are understood as barbarians, and as people of very little worth.

The initial representation of conquest and the arrival of the Spanish is that of divine castigation against the Indians. Because of such a severe punishment, one is caused to question the kinds of sinful behaviors that would provoke God’s eradication of a people. Sahagún explains that due to such destruction, the former grandeur and strengths of the cultures had not been known. Instead, the Castilians had come and disrupted the ways of life of the different indigenous groups. Most of the customs were destroyed or radically altered. As a result, at the time that Sahagún is writing his *Historia*, the cultures of the Indians had been interpreted as having little worth and value and the people were seen as barbaric.

Instead, Sahagún attributes value to the Indians’ cultures and reiterates the necessity of understanding their histories and languages. The friar makes clear that much of the loss of indigenous practices and knowledge is due to the the actions of

the Castilians. Sahagún does not portray the Indians as irredeemable. The roles are reversed, in which the Castilians have carried out a nearly complete obliteration of various peoples and their cultures. This leaves one to question whether or not divine will would have called down such a wrath on what was actually a valued and worthy civilization. Furthermore, one questions who would support the legitimacy of such actions if these people were indeed worthy of saving.

By showing this division between theoretical evangelization and actual conquest, Sahagún calls into question imperial policies that had been used to legitimize such violence. With the revelation of such destruction, Sahagún shows the need to record from the indigenous elders how their peoples were before the arrival of the Spanish in order to combat the present chaos that occurred once they came. Sahagún does not validate idol worship through cultural memory. Instead, he looks to the cultural practices that surrounded the worship of different gods as a way to cure society. In order to worship their gods, the Indians had developed different rites. With these rites, they had created over time strict regimens. Such regimens gave them strength and also helped to balance their bodies against the negative influences of the land. In this way, non-Christian beliefs and practices had been used to maintain societal health.

Because of these practices were intricately linked to idol worship, the Christians did make war upon the Indians:

...necesario fué destruir todas las cosas idolátricas, y todos los edificios, y aun las costumbres que tenía la república con que se regía, y por esta causa fué necesario desbaratarlo todo, y ponerles en otra manera de policía, de modo que no tuviesen ningún resabio de cosas de idolatría.

Pero viendo ahora que esta manera de policia cría gente muy viciosa, de muy malas inclinaciones y muy malas obras, las cuales los hace a ellos odiosos a Dios y a los hombres, aún les causa grandes enfermedades y breve vida; sera menester poner remedio... (2, 243).

...it was necessary to destroy all of the idolatrous things, and all of the buildings, and even all the customs the republic had with which they governed themselves, and for this reason it was necessary to topple everything, and put them in another manner of policing, so that they would not have any reminder of things of idolatry.

But seeing now that this manner of policing creates very depraved peoples, of very bad inclinations and very bad works, which makes them hateful to God and to men, even causes them great illnesses and short life; it will be worthwhile to remedy this...

In other words, with the destruction of all aspects of the culture, the Christians had hoped to eliminate the worship of idols. Sahagún points out though that this had not improved the lives of the Indians but rather made them worse and brought them no closer to the Christian faith. The Castilians' use of extirpation had a nearly opposite effect of what the crown had hoped for. The new system in place was breeding disease of non-Christianity and physical illness among the indigenous population. Customs to balance bodies, which were carried out in non-Christian religious practices, were prohibited. Similarly, knowledge about medicinal properties of plants and the terrain were also guarded only in memory by few by the time Sahagún was recording information. The Castilians did not know the land or understand how such practices were linked not only to worshipping gods but also to the idea of becoming like the gods, or perfecting the body.

Once these practices were destroyed without understanding the beliefs behind them, the push for the Indians to maintain such bodily health no longer existed. Moreover, the knowledge of how to achieve this state of health within the environment was erased as well. The process of destruction was not aimed at erasing

such memory of how to maintain such health. Rather, it was aimed at obliterating the dangerous, idolatrous beliefs. In this way, for Sahagún, with regard to such non-Christian knowledge, beliefs in the idols were more dangerous than the practices:

...si aquella manera de regir no estuviera tan inficionada con ritos y supersticiones idolátricas, paréceme que era muy buena; y sí limpiada de todo lo idolátrico que tenía, y haciéndola del todo Cristiana, se intrudujese en esta república Indiana y española, cierto sería gran bien, y sería causa de librar así a la una república como a la otra, de grandes males y trabajos a los que las rigen (2,245).

...if that manner of ruling were not so imbued with idolatrous rites and superstitions, it seems to me that it was very good; and if cleaned of all of the idolatry that it had, and making it in every way Christian, and it were introduced in this Indian and Spanish republic, surely it would be of great good, and it would be the cause of liberation for one republic like the other, from great evils and works to those that rule them.

In other words, Sahagún suggests that such practices could be Christianized. They could be learned and the non-Christian beliefs rooted out, and then they could be reinstated so that societal balance could be restored. People's bodies would be reacclimatized to the terrain by relying on already gathered knowledge from thousands of years but simply under the guise of a new religion. Nevertheless, the Christianization of such practices would prove difficult as all points of life for the Indians were imbued with beliefs in their many gods, including the progression of history.

According to the Indians, they had received warnings from their own gods before the fall of the empire of the impending doom. Many omens were sent prior to the arrival of the Castilians. According to *Broken Spears*, in the night sky, great lights would appear and remain until the sun rose, comets passed through, an eagle with the head of a mirror that reflected the image of the Spanish coming appeared,

men appeared with two heads, a woman's voice could be heard crying for Mexico in the night, evil spirits walked the streets lamenting for the same reason, and a dead woman rose from the grave to announce to Moctecuzoma all that would pass (1, 40-50):

Acaeció otra señal en este tiempo de Moctecuzoma: que una mujer vecina de México Tenochtitlán, murió de una enfermedad, que fué enterrada en el patio, y encima de su sepultura pusieron una piedra, la cual resucitó después de cuatro días de su muerte... fué a la casa de Moctecuzoma y le contó todo lo que había visto, y le dijo: 'La causa porque he resucitado es, para decirte, que en tu tiempo se acabará el señorío de México, y tú eres ultimo señor porque vienen otras gentes, y ellos tomarán señorío de la tierra y poblarán en México (1, 40).

Another signal happened in this time of Moctecuzoma: that a neighboring woman of México Tenochtitlan, died of an illness, she was interred in the patio, and on top of her grave they placed a stone, who came back to life after four days of her death... she went to the house of Moctecuzoma and told him all she had seen, and she said to him: 'The reason that I have come back is, in order to tell you, that in your time will end the reign of México, and you are the last ruler because other peoples are coming, and they will take control of the land and populate in México.

When each of these omens told to the Mexica peoples, the arrival of the Spanish is portrayed as solely negative. The omens are portrayed as announcing the toppling of the established order. The inverse of accepted order would become true. For example, the dead would rise from their graves as we see the woman arise to warn Moctezuma.

Also, what was most powerful would become the weakest, and therefore the Mexica would no longer reign. As mentioned in the first chapter, disease could be understood as any set of unwanted characteristics, which were contrary to an accepted social order. Thus, the arrival of the Spaniards is comparable to the letting loose of an epidemic on the land. The arrival of the Castilians can be understood as a

figurative infection of the Mexica civilization. After their coming, actual spread of disease befell the land as well. Alfred B. Crosby writes,

The pandemic not only killed great numbers in the empires, but it also affected their power structures, striking down the leaders and disrupting the processes by which they were normally replaced. When Montezuma died, his nephew Cuitláhuac, was elected lord of Mexico. It was he who directed the attacks on the Spaniards during the disastrous retreat from Tenochtitlán, attacks which nearly ended the story of Cortés and his soldiers. Then Cuitláhuac died of smallpox. Probably many others wielding decisive power in the ranks of the Aztecs and their allies died in the same period, breaking dozens of links in the chain of command (54).

As Crosby points out, there is a direct link between the destruction of the Mexica governing infrastructure and the health of their bodies. Sahagún writes of how the outbreak of smallpox came within eighty days of the arrival of the Castilians:

El décimo señor que fué de México se decía Cuitlahuac (o Cuitlahuatzin) y tuvo el señorío ochenta días, cuando ya los españoles estaban en México; y en tiempo de éste acaeció una mortandad, o pestilencia de viruelas en toda la tierra, la cual enfermedad nunca había acontecido en México, ni en otra tierra de esta Nueva España según los viejos, y a todos afeó las caras, porque hizo muchos hoyos en ellas; y eran tantos los difuntos que morían de aquella enfermedad, que no había quién los enterrase, por lo cual en México los echaron a las acequias, porque entonces había muy grande copia de aguas y era muy grande el hedor que salía de los cuerpos muertos (2, 41).

The tenth ruler of México was called Cuitlahuac (or Cuitlahuatzin) and he ruled for 80 days, when the Spanish were already in México; and in his time happened a great loss of life, or pestilence of smallpox in all of the land, a sickness which had never happened in México, nor in any other land in this New Spain, according to what the elders said, and all [people's] faces were disfigured, because it made many pits in them; and there were so many deceased that died of that illness, that there was no one left to inter them, for which reason in México they threw them into the ditches, because then there was a great deluge of water and there was a very great stench that came from the dead.

Although there had been prior epidemics with regard to other diseases, this one was greater than any before according to the elders. People were disfigured by the disease. As studied in the first chapter, there was a link understood between the condition of the body and the condition of the soul. For this reason, the epidemic caused by the Spanish can be understood as not only marring the bodies of the Indians but also harming their souls.

The presence of the Spanish among the Mexica brings about both physical and spiritual harm. This notion of spiritual harm is underscored by the destruction of social customs. According to Sahagún, the death toll was so great that there were not enough people living to bury those who had died. Even though the Mexica were not Christian, they had the custom of burying their dead. However, because of the illness, they were forced to throw the dead into ditches thereby undoing a cultural practice that was considered civilized. The presence of the Spanish is linked to the unraveling of the social health of the Indians.

Sahagún recounts how illness not only broke out with the arrival of the Castilians but also accompanied their rule. He writes of another Mexica ruler's time:

El décimoquinto gobernador de Tenochtitlán, se llamó D. Diego Teuetzquiti, gobernó trece años, y en tiempo de éste fué la mortandad, y pestilencia muy grande en la Nueva España, y salía como agua de las bocas de los hombres y mujeres naturales, gran copia de sangre, por lo cual moría infinita gente; y porque en cada casa no había quien tuviese cargo de los enfermos, murieron de hambre, y cada día en cada pueblo, se enterraban muchos muertos. También en tiempo de dicho D. Diego fué la Guerra de los Chichimecas de Xuchipilla, que hizo D. Antonio de Mendoza que fué primer virrey de esta Nueva España (2, 42).

The fifteenth governor of Tenochtitlan was called D. Diego Teuetzquiti, he governed for thirteen years, and of this mortality and pestilence was very great in New Spain, and fell a great quantity of blood, like water from the mouths of the native men and women, for

this reason infinite people died; and because in every house there was no one to take care of the ill, they died of hunger, and every day in every village, they buried many dead. Also, in the time of said D. Diego was the war with the Chichimecas of Xuchipilla, that D. Antonio de Mendoza caused who was the first Viceroy of New Spain.

From the tenth to the fifteenth ruler, Sahagún establishes continuity between the outbreaks of disease that befall the Indians and the presence of the Spanish. Sahagún notes how each form of pestilence led to yet another, and had many different consequences, from physical and spiritual, to also social. The Franciscan provides the example of how as the Indians became sick and could not care for themselves or those in their homes, they died of the illness and also of hunger. In this case, social customs that were cohesive to their civilization were again coming undone. In Aristotelian thought, the basic unit of a civil society was the household. Sahagún portrays the organization of peoples into households, which already existed prior to the arrival of the Spanish. However, due to the pestilence, this structure was disintegrating. Societal health of the Indians is again jeopardized by the presence of the Christians. Moreover, this pestilence is accompanied by war, which Viceroy Mendoza wages on local indigenous groups, thereby causing more loss of life.

In recording these afflictions, Sahagún does not criticize the implementation of Christianity as a system of beliefs to follow. The devastation is noted because this new belief system, which is supposed to be the foundation for colonial society cannot be administered to the inhabitants of the New World as it had been done in other regions. Sahagún separates religion from culture and demonstrates how new customs imposed on the Indians and the destruction of their cultures had worsened the conditions of their souls. His observations serve to eradicate present illness by

looking to past pagan wisdom in order to obtain a healthy Christianized social body in the future. He writes:

Cuán desatinados habían sido en el conocimiento de las criaturas, los gentiles, y nuestros antepasados así los griegos como los latinos, está muy claro por sus mismas escrituras, de las cuales nos consta cuán ridículas fábulas inventaron del sol, y de la luna, y de algunas de las estrellas, agua, fuego, tierra y aire, y de las criaturas; y lo que peor es, que les atribuyeron la divinidad, adoraron, ofrecieron, sacrificaron y acataron como a dioses... pues si esto pasó, (como sabemos) entre gente de tanta discreción y presunción, no hay porque nadie se maraville, porque se hallen semejantes cosas entre esta gente tan párvula, y tan fácil para ser engañada; pues a propósito que sean curados de sus cegueras, así por medio de los predicadores como de los confesores, se ponen en el presente libro... (2,9).

How unwise had they been in the knowledge of animals, the gentiles, and our ancestors as much the Greeks as the Romans, it is very clear from their own writings, from which it is stated for us how ridiculous of fables they invented of the sun, and of the moon, and of some of the stars, water, fire, earth and air, and of the animals; and that what is worse, is that they attributed to them divinity, they adored, offered, sacrificed, and obeyed them as if to gods... Thus if this happened, (as we know) among people of such discretion and presumption, there is no reason why one should be shocked, that similar things are discovered among such infant-like people, and so easily able to be deceived; thus with the purpose of being cured of their blindness, in this way by means of preachers as well as confessors, are put in the present book...

Sahagún compares the Indians of the New World to ancient Classical civilizations, thereby reaffirming the value of their culture. At the same time, by comparing the Indians to the Greeks and Romans, he also eliminates the threat of their non-Christian practices. Such practices by the Greeks and Romans were eventually Christianized as could be the Indians'. In this way, Sahagún portrays the Indians as intelligent beings that can be taught the Gospels. They are depicted as learned but also easily able to be deceived. By giving the Indians a child-like representation, Sahagún also mitigates

the violence of non-Christian rituals that had been used as justification for making war upon them.

Hence, on the one hand, the Indians are seen as sinful but on the other hand they are shown as apt beings that can be saved. At the same time, Sahagún links their intellectual abilities, their culture, and their beliefs to the environment and the elements. While recognizing the incapacities that the terrain has inflicted upon them, Sahagún emphasizes the thorough knowledge these people had gained through experience with such living conditions for thousands of years.

Knowledge provided from Indian elders offer Sahagún sight into how to reincorporate practices that would help to rebalance men's bodies from the negative conditions of the climate:

Y para dar mayor oportunidad y ayuda a los predicadores de esta nueva Iglesia, en este volumen o libro he tratado de las virtudes morales, según la inteligencia y práctica y lenguaje que la misma gente tiene de ellas. No llevo en este tratado el orden que otros escritores han llevado en tratar esta materia, mas llevo el orden de las personas, dignidades y oficios y tratos que entre esta gente hay, poniendo la bondad de cada persona y luego su maldad. Contiénense también por el mismo estilo, en este tratado o libro, todas las más de las enfermedades a que los cuerpos humanos están sujetos en esta tierra, y las medicinas contrarias. Y junto a esto casi todas las generaciones que en esta tierra han venido a poblar (2,172).

In order to give greater opportunity and aid to the preachers of this new Church, in this volume or book I have treated moral virtues, according to the intelligence and practice and language that the same people have of them. I do not give in this treatise the order that other writers have offered in treating this material, but I do offer the order of people, titles and offices and dealings that are among these people, putting first the good of each person and later the bad. They are contained also in the same style, in this treatise or book, all the greatest of the illnesses to which the human bodies of this land are subject, and the contrary medicines. And along with this almost all of the generations that in this land have come to live.

Sahagún explains the way in which he has constructed this volume for preachers to use it to address moral philosophy amongst the Indians. Instead of writing as his predecessors had, he claims to write his treatise in a way that is common to the intelligence, language, and practices of the Indians. In this way, there would be no disconnect between the past and its convergence with the present as there had been by using solely Christian customs and language. By using Christianized methods for recording history while inscribing Indian knowledge and customs, Sahagún attempts to bring the Indians' ways of thought and practices into the Christian realm and at the same time open a door for preachers into a past world.

From such advocacy for the return of Mexica culture, one questions to what extent the Franciscan hoped this past would remain simply as a memory that would eventually be erased. As noted in the first chapter, history was often compared to a body. It was common for intellectuals to take pieces of texts and to sew them together to create a new corpus of knowledge. Just as this knowledge is a body, it is not separate from the perception and understanding of the physical body. As the Mexica past is read and pieces were taken, gathered, and reorganized, a new history as well as a new understanding of humanity emerges. That is, human, in terms of *humanitas*, or solidarity, through the use of Christian letters. Sahagún does not seem to grasp the violence that such construction of a new corpus of knowledge would inflict upon the already existing Mexican body, both textual and corporal.

Sahagún carries out a process of comparison, in which he depicts pagan rituals as having similarities with Christianity. Sahagún specifies what are the non-Christian

beliefs as well as the prayers said when carrying them out, while emphasizing aspects of them that could later be drawn upon for their resemantization:

‘¿Por ventura Dios no me ayudará aunque haga lo que es de mí, aunque haga mi oficio? Quizás lo haré con presunción y al revés, poniéndola de al lado o de soslayo, o romperé la bolsa en que está la criatura. ¡Oh desventurada de mí! ¿Por ventura, será esto causa de mi muerte? Por todo lo cual, ¡oh, hijos míos, señores y señoras, preciosos y nietos, míos, muy amados! Acaso de esto no sale de vosotros, sino de nuestro señor Dios por vuestros lloros!, y pues, así es, ahora cumplamos la voluntad de nuestro señor Dios, y hágase lo que vosotros mandáis, pongamos el hombro a este negocio, comencemos a obrar en el servicio de esto que Dios ha enviado, de esto, que nuestro señor nos ha dado...’ (1, 586-587).

‘Perhaps God will not help me even though I do what is asked of me, even though I do my job? Perhaps I will do it with presumptuousness or in reverse, pushing it aside or dodging it, or I will break the sack where the child is. ¡Oh unfortunate am I! Perhaps this will be the cause of my death? All for which, ¡oh sons of mine, lords and ladies, children and grandchildren of mine, very loved! In case this does not come from us, rather from our lord God for your tears!, and thus, it is that now we complete the will of our lord God, and what you command, we put our shoulder to this task, and we begin to work in the service which God has sent, of this which our lord has given us...’.

The Indians are portrayed as understanding, acknowledging, and worshipping a supreme deity, like Christians. The capitalization of the name God and the portrayal of this god as omnipotent and all powerful also serve as a link between the Mexica ritual and Christian beliefs.

Sahagún represents the mid-wife as understanding her role as a servant of God. The mid-wife explains that God will help her bring the child into the world if the people pray and do as he commands. If the mid-wife acts with vanity and believes it to be her own doing, she may kill the child and thereby bring about her own death. In this way, service to God, like in the two previous narratives of

Esplandián by Montalvo and *Relación* by Cabeza de Vaca, is to be rewarded whereas self glorification would result in loss and death. By following the command of God and carrying out one's office in his name, one serves the republic by growing the house and family, and will be rewarded on both earth and in the celestial realm.

The same chivalric trope applies here as in Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca's narratives. Sahagún also records the prayers offered for the child during a Mexica baptism:

‘...no sabemos qué daño o qué vicio trae esta criatura contraído de su padre o madre; ya está en vuestras manos, lavadla y limpiadla como sabéis que conviene, porque en vuestras manos se deja; purificadla de la suciedad que ha sacado de sus padres, y las mancillas y suciedades llévelas el agua, y deshágalas, y limpia toda inmundicia que hay en ella. Tened por bien señora, que sea purificado y limpio su corazón y su vida, para que viva pacífica y sosegadamente en este mundo...’ (1, 605).

‘...we do not know the damage or vice that this child brings contracted from her father or mother; now it is your hands, wash her and clean her how you know that is best, because in your hands she is left; purify her of the dirtiness that she has taken out from her parents, and let the water take the stains and dirt, and undo, and clean all filth that there is in her. Have for certain lady, that purified and clean be her heart and her life, so that she live peacefully and tranquilly in this world...’.

The desire to have the child baptized into a community of believers of this God is similar to Christianity. Christian baptism is believed to wash away the sinful state of original sin, passed on from Adam and Eve to their children. In the same way, parents passed on this sin to their children when they are born. Hence, although not named directly, Sahagún depicts a set of beliefs similar to those of original sin. Furthermore, water is used in both the Christian and Mexica rites, in order to symbolize this purification and the welcoming of the child into the religious

community. Being among this community, the child would learn to live in a morally acceptable fashion.

In this manner, because these nuggets of Mexica culture recorded in Castilian are made to be like Christian prayers, they were to be resemantized and used amongst the Indians and the Spanish alike. Sahagún suggests a syncretic approach to constructing colonial society that is based on Christian beliefs. However, instead of their practices, he would have the reinstatement of the use of pre-Colombian cultures. Otherwise, Spanish forms of living would continue to be imposed upon the Indians and among Spanish and Spanish born in a terrain that did not correspond to the needs created by that climate. As a result, social, physical, and moral disease would continue to spread and kill.

Hence, Christian beliefs could substitute the pagan ones while indigenous customs were able to be used. Nevertheless, religious syncretism would prove challenging because of the already established polytheistic components of Amerindians' spiritual practices. This is similar to the Amerindians of the Andes, whom Verónica Salles-Reese has studied. Salles-Reese notes that of such polytheistic traditions,

...with its natural tendency to adopt new deities, substitution or syncretism would be unnecessary... The program of Christianization to which the Indians were subjugated proscribed, but did not eradicate this religious practice. The flexibility of Andean religious beliefs allowed the two creeds to coexist (34).

In this way, there was an inability to make the specificities of each set of beliefs correspond exactly with one another. For this reason, Catholic and Incan beliefs continued to coexist rather than the introduction of Christianity subsuming the

indigenous religious rites. These beliefs were not subsumed by Christianity is because the monotheistic Christian system could simply be added into the pantheon of gods that already existed for the Incas.

Due to their polytheistic tradition, Christian gods could be accepted into the Incan pantheon. In a similar fashion, so too was Mexica cosmology flexible to the acceptance of new deities. This point is explored by Lois Parkinson Zamora in *The Inordinate Eye*:

Like Quetzacóatl, the more than two hundred deities of the Mesoamerican pantheon constantly change names, places, roles, and appearances. They are spirit forces rather than individualized gods. Their images shift according to situation, teller, and cultural context, and this metamorphic capacity necessarily defers definition; the avatars are not innumerable, but neither is there any Bullfinch-type catalogue of who's who, because the Mesoamerican gods are multiple and volatile. The boundaries between human, animal and natural forms are permeable; the plentitude of being, not idiosyncratic identity, is their referent (9-10).

As Parkinson Zamora explains, the multitude of characteristics of the Mexica pantheon changed frequently based on different social and cultural needs. As a result, the disconnection of parts of Mexica religious rites and their reorganization into a Christian narrative would have ambiguous outcomes.

Just as the gods morphed in name, place, and appearance, before the arrival of the Spanish, they would continue to do so with their arrival. The notion of transformative spirit forces would allow for flexibility and fusion of certain characteristics of some gods with new deities introduced by Christianity. That is not to say that, for example, the Madonna was able to be mapped succinctly onto the image of a previously existing goddess. It would not be feasible to claim that the

Indians worshiped the Madonna because non-Christian cultural memory of gods was disappeared. There was no replacement or substitution.

However, with the forced introduction of Christian deities, and the extirpation of idols, there was adoption of characteristics and deities as well as new roles within the Mexica pantheon in order to make room for new social, cultural, and religious demands. Sahagún's placing pieces of cultural memory within a new context would not eliminate the old but rather provide for expansion and reconstruction of pieces of a puzzle that included them among the new Christian system. The gods did not disappear but merely emerged along the seams of what were supposed to be the new Christian deities that were supposed to be worshiped.

In order to connect how the pagan gods continued to exist within new authorized Christian images through Sahagún's transcription of Mexica beliefs, Parkinson Zamora gives the example of Carlos Fuentes's recounting of Quetzalcoatl's fall. Originally this was written in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlán* from 1570. In it, Quetzalcoatl is deceived by three other gods by showing him his reflection in a mirror. When he sees himself, Quetzalcoatl feels shame at the thought of what his vassals think of his ferocious appearance. Because of his fear, Quetzalcoatl drinks, fornicates, and the following day he is said to have left in disgrace (5). However, what Fuentes does not include in his version is that before leaving, Quetzalcoatl had a mask fashioned for him from feathers to start anew. When he puts on his mask, Quetzalcoatl looks into the mirror, sees himself, and is transformed.

At once, Quetzalcoatl embodies his former self, or the image which his enemies used to disempower him, and his new self, transformed into the plumed

serpent. In the *Anales*, it is explained that Quetzalcoatl did not depart in shame but triumphantly to reestablish himself somewhere else (6). In this metamorphosis, the mask had become part of the god.

In a similar way, Sahagún records non-Christian traditions. He does so with the intent of allowing for familiarity with such practices and beliefs to be understood and thus eliminated. Yet, images, practices, and notions of Mexica cosmology were transformable. By identifying and translating such practices, Sahagún re-presents them with a new mask and context within which to be reestablished. Idols were no longer able to be kept or temples visited. Nevertheless, the persistence of such beliefs did not necessitate the physical presence of idols.

In other words, cultural memory existed in conjunction with the idols, but those could also be remade. Elizabeth Hill Boone provides the example of Sahagún's recounting of how one Aztec ruler, Itzcoatl (1427-1440), burned many of the codices containing their people's histories and beliefs even before the Spanish arrived:

Although the old ones in their lament noted that the god had gone, they focused their anxiety on the departure of the books. They were concerned with *what* would govern rather than *who* would govern, the implication being that the books themselves provided the model, the standard, the example. When they recreated the books, they metaphorically relit 'the torch, the light,' and started civilization, or culture again (Boone 21).

The codices containing the knowledge of their histories and cosmologies had been taken. Because these held the precious information about their beliefs, the codices would also have been understood to be places where deities inhabited. They held the keys to living a virtuous life and how to placate the gods as well as information about the past. With the disappearance of the codices, the elders did not worry about the

establishment of a new ruler or the absence of the gods. Rather they dedicated themselves to rewriting them so that the way to interact with the divine was not lost. The knowledge itself was divine, and the codices were its house, and therefore a manifestation of this divinity. The vessel of this divinity, however, could be remade. In this way, the image of the deity is a referent as well as a deity (Parkinson Zamora 13). Similarly, Sahagún's text could be understood as a kind of vessel that carried and embodied non-Christian knowledge.

Nevertheless, the gods existed outside these idols too in animal and human form with the anatomical body being understood as intricately linked to their gods. This connection is represented in an ancient creation story about Quetzalcoatl that Boone explains,

The past not only established the features of the present, it was corporally carried into the present in the form of human beings. In each of the cosmic ages, the Aztecs understood that humankind was created anew and differently... The Leyenda de los Soles records how, after the gods had created the sky and the earth, the divine culture-hero Quetzalcoatl went down into Mictlan, the underworld land of the dead, in search of the 'precious bones' of the dead (León-Portilla 1963:107-111)... he snatched up the piles of bones and raced out with them. Immediately he carried them to Tamoanchan, a place of origins, where the old goddess Cihuacoatl ground them into meal. Quetzalcoatl and the other gods bled themselves over the meal, their blood wetting and transferring them into living dough that composes the common people (the *macehuals*)... the Aztecs believed themselves to be formed out of the remains- the ancestral bones- of the past. Thus, the Aztecs did not simply hold the past within them as a factor of their consciousness, as we do; in addition to this, the Aztecs also understood their corporal selves literally to be composed of the past, brought to life by the blood of the gods (18).

If man existed from the blood of gods, then the reaffirmation of their existence would not merely be a question of elimination of certain religious rites or extirpation of

idols. Nor would books, such as Sahagún's text, be the only way to convene their goes and traditions.

On the contrary, physical existence would serve as a historical testament of the gods' actuality as well as Mexica a cosmological narrative. For this reason, even though the notion of a body, humanity, and solidarity, had been rewritten into Christian form with Castilian letters, pieces of the Mexica cultural body are nonetheless present and the base of Sahagún's narrative. Sahagún's text carried such materials and was also surrounded by the belief in physical presence as proof of the existence of Mexica deities. These deities were seen in all other points of creation. Thus, how could the crown, let alone this Franciscan, have hoped to completely resemantize the indigenous cosmology? There is a sort of generative chain, which because of already existing polytheistic beliefs, would allow for organization and reorganization of meanings and pieces within the text as well as outside of it. Sahagún's narrative carries within it multiple cosmologies and multiple social bodies created from these and that reflect them.

Parkinson Zamora makes the important observation that in indigenous cosmologies of the Americas, there is a distinct understanding of the role of the representation of an object. In Spanish notions of representation, the idea of mimetic resemblance meant that one would create an image to remind oneself of a thing not present:

Unlike the indigenous image, the Catholic image is not to be a repository of spirit; it exists *not* to embody God but rather to facilitate the believer's call upon God. It is an *index* pointing to truth, not a vessel containing truth. The vivid particularities of Catholic painting and statues, pageants and processions, are intended to conduct the

believer elsewhere, not to bring spirit into actual physical contact with the beholder... (20-21).

In other words, in Christian understanding of representation it was established that created images had a likeness to the nature of a thing but that there was a complete separation from its nature. There is a complete distinction between a thing and its representation (15).

However, for the Mexica, the converse was true: "...representation does not mean *resemblance*... but rather *embodiment*..." (Parkinson Zamora 20):

The metaphoric nature of the Mesoamerican gods further complicated the Catholic clergy's problem in drawing strict lines between 'pagan' and Christian images. Indigenous images embodied unstable, combinatory entities subject to constant transformation, so they could (and often were) reconfigured according to aspects of Christian saints and virgins. Church and government archives are full of records documenting Catholic efforts to oppose such unauthorized syncretism (Parkinson Zamora 21).

An example of this, as we have already discussed, are the indigenous books that existed before the arrival of the Christians. These books contained the knowledge of the correct ways to live, the histories of their peoples, as well as stories about the gods. More than continuing sacred information, the books were actually considered to be manifestations of the divine.

Nowhere in the Catholic tradition would it be licit to create an image in order to worship it, believing it to actually contain Christ's essence or the Virgin Mary's spirit. The only possible similarity would be that of transubstantiation. Here bread and wine used in Catholic mass are blessed, and it is believed that in doing so, they are transformed into the body and blood of Christ. In that case, the symbols become

the actual deity. However, for the Mexica, the gods existed in the images created for and of them.

The fact that Sahagún records such vast compilations of Mexica knowledge about their ways of life, rites, histories, and gods, indeed begs the question of whether or not the Franciscan understood this critical ontological distinction about representation in the differing cultures. According to Parkinson Zamora, with the translation of the Mexica cosmology from its oral performance to Castilian letters, this divergence between ontological understandings would cease to exist. In Mexica cosmology, metamorphic identities and shifting powers were integral to their beliefs in gods (Parkinson Zamora 15).

Because of this, it could be supposed that Castilian letters could not embody the sacred notions of image as presence in Sahagún's text. According to Parkinson Zamora,

The visual and performative media that embodied them were fluid enough to encompass a cosmogony based upon principles of complimentary, movement, and metamorphosis, a cosmogony that the alphabetic medium cannot adequately represent. On the contrary, alphabetic documents tend to fix the universe, to record and preserve knowledge and thus to ensure stability. While we celebrate the preservation of indigenous American myths in whatever modified form they have come to us, we must also understand how far we are from the original participatory visual/ oral medium. As we read the story of Quetzalcoatl's mirror, whether in Náhuatl, Spanish, or English, we recognize that it is *about* a mythic image, but no longer *is* a mythic image. Its figural text and communal performance have been supplanted by the silent abstraction and discursive logic of European alphabetic form... (15).

I do not agree in the case of Sahagún's narrative that there is a clear separation between myth and text; on the part of the Franciscan possibly, but not on the part of the indigenous communities. There is no clear separation because Sahagún gathers

his information directly from the Indians. Thus, the text is simply a new form of representation of Mexica religious beliefs. As Eloise Quiñones Keber has noted, representation of Aztec ritual pervades the images and texts of the Sahaguntine corpus, particularly within the realm of blood sacrifice (11). Hence, portrayal of rites and prayers would not constitute a simple translation of these acts into another language, which would thereby force them into the past. His transcription is a result of the elders' oral performance and beliefs and come directly from a historical present, which was to serve to combat these beliefs in the future.

Although, as Rolena Adorno notes, there are few places in the vast compilation of the *Historia*, in which Sahagún chides such practices as human sacrifice and cannibalism (*Suppression*, 210). Instead of framing the information provided him within a context of evangelization, the friar offers very few reprimands based on Christian perceptions of pagan beliefs and rites. Adorno writes,

...Sahagún devoted some twenty chapters and fourteen separate accounts to the topic. These three dozen accounts he gave are all narratives that seemingly have been recorded just as given in the oral reporting of his informants. Such an unembellished presentation would perhaps be acceptable, if Sahagún had framed the accounts carefully. The prologues to each of his twelve books were the opportunity he often took to do so... On the odious topic of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism, however, Sahagún's fatal flaw was making no such disclaimers... (210).

Sahagún explains his reason for not expounding on the sinful nature of such practices by relying on the shock that these should provoke in the reader. According to the friar, such horror would be sufficient to guide them away from repeating them (210).

However, in his explanation of the primary purpose of the *Historia* provided at the beginning of the narrative, Sahagún does not name Christians from and in

Spain as its primary audience. Rather, the text is for preachers and colonial settlers in the New World. The principle function of his text was to know the intricacies of pagan beliefs and rites to be able to explain to the Amerindians the falsity of their gods. Sahagún reaffirms this later when he states,

...conocidas las fábulas y ficciones vanas que los gentiles tenían acerca de sus dioses fingidos, pudiesen fácilmente darles a entender a aquellos no eran dioses, ni podían dar cosa alguna, que fuese provechosa a la criatura racional... A este propósito en este tercer libro se ponen las fábulas y ficciones que estos naturales tenían acerca de sus divinidades que ellos tenían por fe acerca de sus mentirosos dioses, vengan más fácilmente por la doctrina Evangélica a conocer el verdadero Dios (3, 285).

...known the vain fables and fictions that the gentiles had about their made-up gods, they could easily give to understand to them they were not gods, nor could they give anything, that would be beneficial to a rational creature... To this purpose in this third book are placed the fables and fictions that these natives had about their gods that they had for faith about their lying gods, that they come more easily through Evangelical doctrine to know the true God.

As Sahagún points out, the actions of Evangelization are not completed as they were in the time of the gentiles. Only through observing and conversing with the Indians may the Christians have access to such knowledge in order to do so. Hence Sahagún's role is more accurately described as an interpreter than a transcriber, as he provides a bridge to Mexica cosmology through a new medium. What's more is that he does not create a single unified account when he does this. Sahagún writes multiple stories from multiple sources.

For this reason, there is an intricate link between the friar's transcription and Indians' oral performances of these rites. In the creation of the text, both kinds of ontological understanding are being utilized, Amerindian image as presence and Spanish historical narrative. While Castilian letters provide a form, the continuation

of the ontological understanding of Mexica gods in the text is evidenced by the fact that for the Mexica, words in themselves corresponded with the self:

In Mesoamerican myth cultures, the body is coextensive with the world, an expressive space that contains- rather than filters or fixes- the world. In Náhuatl poetry, the image for 'human being' is *in ixtli, in yollotl- rostro y corazón*, face and heart... 'the moral physiognomy and dynamic principle of the human being'... 'the self extends visibly to other representations, yet essence transfers along with resemblance... it both resembles and is the entity it reproduces,' (Miguel León-Portilla, Stephen Houston, and David Stuart cited in Parkinson Zamora 10).

Both the Franciscan and the elders with whom he communicates may have understood the ontological distinctions between the cultures. Nevertheless, it is clear that with the production of this text, that non-Christian cosmology had not at all been eradicated from daily life even though the great majority of idols had been destroyed. The relaying of information then from one person to another would not limit the question of transference of beliefs. Instead, whether or not one understood the books as holy vessels of divinity would be decided by the person interacting with the text.

Moreover, the Mexica understood that the gods were always transforming as well as the mediums in which they did so. There would be no 'original' document or myth to which Parkinson Zamora refers. As even Sahagún notes, there were multitudes of smaller indigenous groups living within the Mexica communities. Each had their understandings of the gods and modifications of their creation stories. Furthermore, each would have differing social and political situations, which would also heavily influence how they portrayed their gods. If there were only one way to represent gods in order to keep them alive, the gods would have died long before. Due to the plurality of groups existing, their distinct cosmological beliefs, and the

differing ways in which they portrayed these would necessitate the ability to represent gods in a great variety of forms, including new ones. With the arrival of the Spanish, new icons were added into these mediums and accepted, which included recording their traditions in Castilian letters.

Thus, Sahagún's transcription of the histories of the Mexica elders embodies two codes for reading or interpreting the presence of gods within it. The Spanish notion of writing would push the knowledge of Mexica cosmology into the past. This is because of the European notion of writing, in which letters and images were to replace that which was no longer present. Hill Boone explains that such understandings of writing include letters being parasitic of spoken language, internal timing carried within grammar and syntax of written language, and the need to read the letters in order to comprehend the message (1994: 12, 14, 17). However, the indigenous notion of interpreting the text would include a metamorphosis of the representation of living pagan gods.

The representation of Mexica gods in the form of Castilian letters met the needs of those facing a change in political and social situations. For this reason, Christian forms of representation were used as an authorized means of doing so. As we have seen, there was no syncretic replacement of the Mexica deities by Christian ones, but there was the inclusion of Christian deities within the Mexica pantheon. With the inclusion of Christian deities into Mexica cosmology, there was also the continuation of the beliefs in image as presence. There exists the contemporary example of this in the cultish following of the Virgin of Guadalupe and other saints. Because the church permitted the representation of Christian images, these could

serve as reminders, if not affirmations, of the presence of the other pagan gods within the pantheon. Mary's image was not to be worshipped in the Catholic faith, but rather to lead believers to faith in her son.

In a similar way that Christian icons reaffirmed the notion of image as presence in figures such as the Virgin of Guadalupe, so too would the inclusion of Christian deities in the Mexica pantheon allow these images to be connected to those of pagan gods. Moreover, the pagan gods' presence would be reaffirmed by their transcription albeit in European form. It is plausible to state that the gods died out with this form of transcription. This notion of the gods' death is based on European understandings of writing, as Boone Hill has pointed out, became a substitution for absence. However, Walter Mignolo has written that,

‘...the history of writing is not an evolutionary process driving toward the alphabet, but rather a series of coevolutionary processes in which different writing systems followed their own transformations.’
(Mignolo cited in Hill Boone 1994: 13).

In other words, the transformation of a system of writing is not to be considered advancement in the method of how a culture or cultures represented themselves. Instead of considering one method of writing to have completely supplanted the other, one must consider how the Castilian and Mexica systems would continue to coexist and mutually influence each other even though letters were the primary form of communication. This mutual influence can be seen, for example, in the vastness of the Sahaguntine corpus. Even though inscribed in Christian letters, the sheer quantity of knowledge of Mexica cosmology overtakes the Christian form of representation of

it; much like in common examples of colonial architecture, such as the Portal of Archangels at the Church of Carmelites in San Luís Potosí, México.²⁶

The immense amount of knowledge provided by the Mexica elders, which was recorded by the friar and his scribes, consumes the idea of a Christian narrative within Sahagún's *Historia*. On multiple occasions the Franciscan explains his purpose of the transcription of such information as being for evangelization:

...si alguno piensa que estas cosas están tan olvidadas y perdidas, y la fe de un Dios tan plantada y arraigada en estos naturales, que no había necesidad en ningún tiempo de hablar de estas cosas, al tal yo creo piadosamente 'pero sé de cierto', que el demonio no duerme, ni está olvidado de la honra que le hacían estos naturales 'y que está esperando conyuntura para si pudiese volver' al señorío que ha tenido, y fácil cosa sería para entonces despertar todas las cosas que se dice estar olvidadas acerca de la idolatría, y para entonces bien es que tengamos armas guardadas para salirle al encuentro (1, 286).

...and if someone thinks that these things are already so forgotten and lost, and faith in one God so planted and rooted in these naturals, that there was no need at any time to speak of these things, to which I piously believe 'but know to be true', that the devil does not sleep nor is the honor forgotten that these naturals did him 'and that he is waiting for a situation in order that he could return' to the power he had, and an easy thing it would be then to awaken all of the things that they say are forgotten about idolatry; and for then it is good that we have arms readied to go out to him at the discovery (my translation).

The Franciscan explains that knowledge will be used to stop the devil from awakening the desire for idolatry in the Indians. Yet, in recording such information, unlike Montalvo's *Esplandián* and Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, there is an absence of a protagonist in the narrative that could complete such a mission. In those texts, the

²⁶ For further discussion on indigenous motifs used within Catholic colonial architecture, see Lois Parkinson Zamora. *The Inordinate Eye: New World Baroque and Latin American Fiction*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006. The author provides a similar and thorough explanation of how the Christian designs on this Portal to a Catholic church are overwhelmed by various recurring indigenous artistic elements within it.

protagonist fulfills the role of the history-writer practitioner, who observes, records, and then acts upon diseased and sinful behaviors by using what has been learned. Here, there is no example provided of a Christian figure about how to interact with diseased peoples in order to heal them in Sahagún's text.

Instead, observations are recorded so that idolatrous beliefs can be recognized during specific rites. At the same time, Sahagún encourages cultural practices by the Indians to be restored in order to heal the present sick society. There is no particular order to the books placed within this historical text. One book can be placed in that of another. Also, rather than a character within the text that moves through different situations and time in order to complete his mission of Christian conversion of pagans and infidels, there is no overarching narrative structure of the *Historia*; however, there is a creation story provided of the many indigenous groups and how they arrived to their current locations and the recounting of Cortés's conquest of Tenochtitlán. Still, the text does meet the criteria of being a *historia*, as discussed in the first chapter by including descriptions of places, peoples, histories, and cultural and religious practices. Nonetheless, there is no triumphant ending provided, in which a pagan faith and its followers are defeated by the imposition of Christianity. Only the conquest of the Mexica empire is provided, and yet this is not attributed to God. The practices of idolatry, as shown in Sahagún's quote above, are still in place even after the arrival of the Castilians.

Sahagún observes and records the sickness present within colonial society, which he attributes both to Castilian customs being imposed upon the Indians and the persistence of idolatrous beliefs among them. Here the friar alleges that the

idolatrous practices continued because such information was not discussed either out of fear or belief that the Indians had easily been converted. Due to the lack of understanding of their ways, not only had new sinful behaviors emerged while living among the Castilians but also the Indians' conversions had yet to be complete and sincere. Thus, the knowledge Sahagún transcribes is not meant to be understood as a memory of the past but to be notes about his present experience. Such in-depth observations are to be used to create a healthy future, in which idolatry would be eradicated while society would be sustained with the reintegration of indigenous practices.

Returning to the notion of *Christus Medicus*, the history-writer practitioner can only exist outside the text by in fact reading and using it. Knowledge provided by the text must be understood in order to recognize and combat non-Christian religious rites. For this reason, the book embodies both the figure of a physician as well as medicine. Different from *Esplandián* and *Relación*, the medicine itself, or the divinity of the text has two facets, one pagan and one Christian. As already stated, because the Mexica gods are presented in the text, it can be considered a sacred vessel, or divine itself. Sacred knowledge of Mexica rites must be consumed in order for the future to be saved. In this sense, the medicinal aspect of the text is not Christian in nature. Rather, reading the text is like the consuming of a pagan Eucharist. By consuming this text, the reader should gain the necessary knowledge to create a healthy Christian social body.

At the same time, Sahagún's *Historia* is also like a physician's guide to the future. It does not provide examples of Christian warriors waging war on infidels, but

it does offer examples of non-Christian practices. In the text, Christian triumph has yet to occur. In both cases, one must infect themselves with pagan ritual in order to triumph over sin. On the one hand, one must become like the sinful and abandon Castilian ways of living in order to alleviate the conditions imposed upon man from the climate. On the other hand, one must recognize the beliefs behind ways of interacting among the Indians to combat the non-Christian system of beliefs. In this way, the text is medicinal in nature as well as a weapon. The war for salvation of pagan and Christian souls does not merely occur within the text. Instead, a chivalric trope is established, in which the battle is exterior to the pages. The triumph of Christianity is contingent upon understanding indigenous cosmology and enacting their customs.

Hence, the overarching unity of Sahagún's narrative is based on a chivalric trope, used also but much more explicitly in Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* and Montalvo's *Esplandián*. In all three texts, knowledge about diseased souls can serve as a medicinal tool as well as an arm to combat non-Christian forces. Unlike Cabeza de Vaca's and Montalvo's texts, as already stated, there is no central protagonist, who wages war against non-Christians. However, like Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, Sahagún advocates for peaceful evangelization through the use of specific knowledge about the Mexica traditions as well as the smaller nations within. Cabeza de Vaca includes precise descriptions about the terrain, physical attributes, weather, and forms of trade of many indigenous groups. So too does Sahagún, whereas Montalvo uses medical discourse to construct non-Christian characters as mere products of their environment.

Through specificity, both Cabeza de Vaca and Sahagún propose the use of lived experience to gain information. This would allow for Christians to convert Indians in a peaceful manner and result in sincere conversions. In contrast, Montalvo's typification of non-Christian characters as violent and monstrous figures seems to correspond with the fact that the author did not cohabitate with non-Christians nor did he travel to the New World. Montalvo participated in the War of Granada, whereas Cabeza de Vaca and Sahagún were forced to abandon Spanish customs, adapt to new terrain, and learn from the Indians about how to live within such conditions. In both cases, there is a relationship established between the Indians and the authors, which centers on reliance and mutual exchange. This could only be done by learning the intricacies of the groups with whom they came into contact. For this reason, Cabeza de Vaca and Sahagún depart from the types created by Montalvo of non-Christians in order to portray non-Christians as not only capable of sincere conversion but also willing to follow a chivalric and Christian code of conduct even before the arrival of the Spanish.

According to Sahagún's portrayal of Mexica history, a chivalric code of conduct existed within the Mexica nation even before Castilian conquest. For example, Sahagún likens the mythical god-hero Quetzalcoatl to King Arthur:

Estos primeros pobladores según lo manifiestan los antiquísimos edificios que ahora están muy patentes fueron gente robustísima, sapientísima, y belicosísima. Entre otras cosas muy notables que hicieron, edificaron una ciudad fortísima en tierra muy opulenta, de cuya felicidad y riquezas, aún los edificios destruidos de ella, hay grandes indicios. A esta ciudad llamaron Tulla que quiere decir: lugar de fertilidad y abundancia, y aún ahora se llama así, y es lugar muy ameno y fértil. En esta ciudad reinó por muchos años un rey llamado Quetzalcóatl, gran nigromántico, e inventor de la nigromancia, y la dejó a sus descendientes, hoy día la usan; fue extremado en las

virtudes morales. Está el negocio de este rey entre estos naturales, como el del rey Arthus entre los ingleses (2,35).

These first inhabitants according to what the ancient buildings manifest that even now are very clear, they were very robust, very knowledgeable, and very bellicose people. Among many other notable things that they did, they built a very strong city in very opulent land, of whose happiness and riches, even in the destroyed buildings from it, there are great signs. To this city they named Tulla that means: place of fertility and abundance, and even now it is called this, and it is a very pleasant and fertile place. In this city reigned for many years a king called Quetzalcoatl, great necromantic, and inventor of necromancy, and he left it to his descendents, today they use it. He was extreme in moral virtues. The business of this king among these natives is, like that of King Arthur among the English.

Quetzalcoatl is compared to the archetype of chivalric leaders, King Arthur of the English literary tradition. Like Arthur, Quetzalcoatl is described as an extremely virtuous ruler. Nonetheless, he practiced necromancy, or sorcery to predict the future, which he passed on to his descendents and which was still used in the present. The fact that Quetzalcoatl is non-Christian, for Sahagún, does not exclude his capacity to be a moral and just sovereign. Sahagún only learns this history through the explanation given him about the ancient buildings that made up the city of Tulla. As a result of his communication with the Mexica elders, Sahagún is able to portray the Indians as having valuable attributes by likening them to European ideals and making Indian traditions comprehensible to the European eye.

Sahagún reinforced the likeness he established between the Indians and the Europeans through medical discourse as well. The Franciscan links attributes of particular Indian nations to the lands they inhabit. As seen in the previous quote, the ruler of the people of Tulla, Quetzalcoatl, is compared with the ideal European leader. His subjects, likewise, are extremely intelligent, strong, and adept in war. Sahagún

describes the city of Tulla as skillfully built, and the land it is in he compares to an earthly paradise. This earthly Eden is fertile and abundant. Such characteristics of the terrain imply the presence of heat and water. As noted in the first chapter, according to medical theory, such conditions of the climate and land would generate just such a people.

On another occasion, in the tenth book of *Historia*, Sahagún describes briefly the many nations that inhabit the surrounding areas of the Mexica empire. The friar provides a history of the people's arrival to the land, a description of the terrain, some of the goods they work, wear, or trade, and physical, mental, or moral attributes. For example, in his description of the Toltecas, Sahagún writes:

...eran de buen conocimiento, con su ingenio descubrieron y alcanzaron a sacar y descubrir, no solo dichas piedras preciosas, sus calidades y virtudes... Eran tan hábiles en la astrología natural los Toltecas, que fueron los primeros que tuvieron cuenta, y la compusieron de los días que tiene el año, de las noches, sus horas, de diferencia de tiempo, etc. ... también inventaron el arte de interpretar sueños, y eran tan entendidos y sabios, que conocían las estrellas de los cielos... Estos dichos Toltecas eran buenos hombres y allegados a la virtud, porque no decían mentiras... Su comida era el mismo mantenimiento que ahora se usa de maíz... compraban y trataban en ello por moneda; su vestir era manta o ropa... eran altos, de más cuerpo que los que ahora viven, y por ser tan altos, corrían y avanzaban mucho... adoraban a un solo señor que tenían por Dios... no quería más que culebras y mariposas que le ofreciesen y diesen en sacrificio (2, 279-281).

...they were of good understanding, with their wit they discovered and were able to take out and discover, not only the said precious stones, their qualities and virtues... They were so able in natural astrology the Toltecs, that they were the first that took count, and compiled it into days that a hear has, of the nights, its hours, of difference of times, etc... they also invented the art of interpreting dreams, and were so knowledgeable and wise, that they knew the stars of the heavens... These said Toltecs were good men and inclined to virtue, because they did not tell lies.... Their food was the same food that now is used of corn.... They bought and traded in it with money; their dress was of

mantas or clothes... they were tall, of greater strength than those that now live, and because of being so tall, they ran and advanced quickly... they adored only one sir that they held as God... he did not want more than snakes and butterflies that they would offer and give to him in sacrifice.

Sahagún notes many important aspects of the Toltec Indians. They are very intelligent, with much knowledge about the land and cosmos. Moreover, the friar portrays them as virtuous and honest people. The food they consumed was corn and not flesh, and they carried out complex trade with the use of currency. They were also fully dressed. Most importantly though, they believed in one God, to whom they did not provide human sacrifice. Instead they offered butterflies and serpents.

As stated in the first chapter, the presence of precious stones in the land would indicate that the Toltecs lived in a place on a similar latitudinal parallel with India. The heat of the sun would have caused the formation of these stones. The intelligence of the Indians also corresponds with a climate having much heat. This intellect is evidenced by their stone working, astrology, and trade. The large bodies of the Toltecs and their great stature were also considered products of a hot as well as a moist environment.

Yet, even though they lived in a hot and wet place, the Indians are not represented as violent. They have strong physiques, but are not drawn to human sacrifice, war, or cannibalism. They please their God with simple insects and snakes. For that reason, even though they worshipped one God, who was not known to be Christian, they are not portrayed as threatening or sinful. Nevertheless, because of the complexity of their culture, they are not represented as child-like. They are

portrayed as archetypal and ideal, combining desired traits of Christians with Mexica traditions.

Sahagún provides other examples of the Mexica society that are valued in European culture, such as the complex justice and mercantile systems. Also the Franciscan includes descriptions of the many kinds of professions and social roles that exist within the Mexica empire, showing the good and bad characteristics and actions of each:

El buen médico suele curar y remediar las enfermedades; el buen médico es entendido, buen conocedor de las propiedades de las yerbas, piedras, árboles y raíces, experimentado en las curas, también tiene por oficio saber concertar los huesos, purgar, sangrar, sajar al enfermo, dar puntos, y al fin librar, de las puertas de la muerte. El mal médico es burlador, y por ser inhábil, en lugar de sanar, empeora a los enfermos con el brebaje que les da, y aún a veces usa hechicerías y supersticiones, para dar a entender que hace buenas curas (2,194)

The good doctor normally cures and remedies illnesses; the good doctor is knowledgeable, well informed of the properties of herbs, stones, trees and roots, experienced in cures, also he has as his office to know how to set bones, purge, bleed, and to operate on the sick, give stitches, with the end of liberation, from the doors of death. The bad doctor is a trickster, and for being unable, in place of healing, makes worse the sick with potions that he gives them, even sometimes uses hexes and superstitions, in order to give the appearance that he gives good cures.

In showing both the good and bad side of each profession or social role, Sahagún demonstrates that while not Christian, the Mexica are a moral and intelligent people. As already said, he does this by establishing similarities between European social structures and values. In this case, much like Europeans, in the Mexica culture the good doctor is educated in curing of diseases and remedies. The bad doctor is deceptive and uses even magic in order to seem like he has cured a patient.

Sahagún has established intelligence, civility, and virtue as three important characteristics, among others, within the Mexica nation. By equalizing such customs and attributes of the Indians to the Europeans' ways of life and norms, hostile reaction caused by dissimilarities with the Mexica is dissuaded and self identification is reaffirmed. For this reason, Sahagún includes the specificities of Mexica social, economic, religious, and juridical life as well as their conceptions of nature and the historical accounts of the arrivals of many smaller nations to the land. For example, Sahagún provides detailed information about the juridical system in the XIV chapter of the eighth book:

El palacio de los señores o casas reales, tenía muchas salas: la primera era la sala de la judicatura donde residían el rey, los señores, cónsules, oidores y principales nobles, oyendo las causas criminales, como pleitos y peticiones de la gente popular, y allí juzgaban y sentenciaban a los criminales... Cuando caían en algún crimen, condenábanlos a muerte o a destierro, o a ser trasquilados, o les hacían *macehuales*, o les desterraban perpetuamente del palacio, o echábanles presos en unas jaulas vacías y grandes; también allí los señores libertaban a los esclavos injustamente hechos (2, 71).

The palace of the nobles or royal houses, had many rooms: the first was the room of judgeship where resided the king, the nobles, consuls, criers and principle nobles, listening to the criminal cases, like lawsuits or petitions of the working people, and there they judged and sentenced the criminals... When they fell into some crime, they condemned them to death or exile, or to be lashed, or they made them *macehuales*, or they banished them perpetually from the palace, or they threw them in jail into empty and large rooms; also there the nobles liberated unjustly made slaves.

Here Sahagún portrays the social structure of Mexica society as rooted in justice.

There is a king, who is served by diplomats, advisors, and nobles, as well as municipal judiciaries. Criminal cases, lawsuits, and petitions were all decided by the

higher echelons of a social pyramid. Based on the case and the verdict, punishments would be decided for those convicted, which are provided in detail.

In the social pyramid, as in Spain, the king holds the highest rank. Below him are the nobles and advisors, the municipal judiciaries below them, and the *macehuales* at the base. Sahagún also describes among many aspects of the social structure the civil court, the court of nobles, and the council of war.

Once again, a chivalric trope is utilized to explain the social structure of Mexica society, in which the king serves as the wisest and just of all. He must lead by example with the nobles executing his wishes and justice among the common peoples. At the same time, the *macehuales* are free to take their complaints before the king in order to receive justice.

In the quote above, Sahagún makes specific note of how the nobles could free unjustly taken slaves, thereby emphasizing the concept of freedom that they were charged with protecting. This also reinforces the notion that the king is only king if his people willingly accept his rule. Sahagún explains the manner in which the Mexica elected a king:

Todos se juntaban en las casas reales, y allí deliberaron y determinaban quién había de ser señor, y escogía uno de los más nobles de la línea de los señores antepasados que fuese prudente y sabio, y que fuese criado en el *Calmecac* y que supiese bien hablar, y fuese entendido, recatado y animoso, y cuando todos o los más concurrían en uno, luego le nombraban por señor (2, 85-86).

All of them gathered in the royal houses, and there they deliberated and determined who was going to be king, and chose one of the most noble of the line of noble ancestors and that was a valiant man and experienced in things of war, bold, spirited, and that did not know how to drink wine, that was prudent and wise, and that was raised in the *Calmecac* and knew how to speak well, and that was knowledgeable,

modest and spirited, and when all or the majority agreed on one, later they named him master.

The king has specific characteristics that are required to rule well, such as intelligence, braveness, experience in war, prudence, not drinking, modesty, and nobility. These attributes are also present in Montalvo's *Esplandián*, in the protagonist that eventually becomes the emperor of Christendom. In Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, such characteristics are also attributed to him, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico in their interactions with the Indians. Although they do not name themselves as rulers, they are chosen by the Indians, among many nations, to be their leaders.

This theme of the ideal prince was not solely taken up by the friar but also elaborated upon by many other European writers during the 16th century, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, and his counterpart, Machiavelli. The emphasis placed upon such characteristics reinforces the notion of a chivalric code of conduct, in which the most just person and society has the right to rule. At once, Sahagún likens the Mexica social structure to its European counterparts, and also provides the details of this structure that diverge from European ideals. In Spain, the throne was inherited as also in France, England, and other places. Also Sahagún notes the attendance of the Mexica leader to a special school called the Calmecac, where youth went to be trained in reverence and austerity to serve their gods. Yet because the friar does not point out the religious significance of the Calmecac at this time, the Mexica culture is not portrayed as reprehensible or in need of destruction.

In this way, the Franciscan departs from traditional medical theory, thereby not creating types of Indians. Instead he uses specificity, by which to know and

recognize this particular nation. In this case, conversion to Christianity seems like the final completion to their perfection. Conversion could be pacific by establishing comparisons between both Christian and Mexica ways. Sahagún does not create figures that correspond with medical theory, in which a kind of Indian would elicit a particular kind of response from Christians. This is unlike in Cabeza de Vaca and Montalvo's texts, which interaction with groups of non-Christians and their actions bring forth an outcome has already been designated and played out for them in the narrative. Nonetheless, by not representing the Mexica as sinful and violent, Sahagún does show that war over them could not be justly made. At the same time, the intricacies of the Mexica history and religious rites were necessary to apprehend so that sincere conversion rather than imitation of Christianity without comprehension would not occur.

Conversion without comprehension had occurred in the past. According to Sahagún, when he first arrived to the New World, he began to teach the young Indians in a school about faith and Latin grammar. Sahagún writes of the Franciscans' initial interaction with the Indians and their belief that these people would be capable to be priests and nuns:

A los principios se hizo experiencia de hacerles religiosos, porque nos parecía entonces que serían aptos para las cosas eclesiásticas, y para la vida religiosa, y así se dio el hábito de S. Francisco a dos mancebos indios los más hábiles y recogidos que entonces había, y que predicaban con gran fervor las cosas de nuestra santa Fe Católica a sus naturales; y pareció nos que si aquellos vestidos de nuestro hábito, y adornados con las virtudes de nuestra santa religión franciscana, predicasen con aquel fervor que predicaban antes, harían grandísimo fruto en las ánimas... hallóse por experiencia que no eran suficientes para tal estado, y así se les quitaron los hábitos... En este tiempo aun los religiosos no sabían la lengua de estos naturales... (2,244).

At the beginning they did an experiment to make them clergy, because it seemed to us then that they would be apt for ecclesiastical things, and for religious life, thus the habit of S. Frances was given to two of the most able and tidy young Indian men that then there were, and that they preached with fervor the things of our holy Catholic Faith to the natives. And it seemed to us if they were dressed of our habit, and adorned with the virtues of our holy Franciscan religion, [if] they would preach with that fervor that they preached before, they would make great fruit among souls... it was discovered through experience that they were not fit for such a state, and thus they took from them their habits... In this time still the clergy did not know the language of these natives.

Initially to all the clergy, it seemed that the youth who studied with them had learned sufficiently and preached so fervently, that they could enter the Franciscan order.

Sahagún notes that they had been instructed in faith and virtue, and they were also dressed like them. By experience, the Franciscans discovered that the two youths were not able to effectively preach once they were given their habits. Sahagún does not explain what such experience caused the discovery of the Indians' inability to teach, nor does he offer a reason why they are unable. He also notes that the clergy had not yet learned the Mexica language. The language barrier between the Indians and the Franciscans is emphasized so that the notion of culpability is not cast upon the Indians. Sahagún also shows that greater knowledge about the Mexica and their language was necessary in order to preach to them effectively and for sincere conversions to occur.

For this reason, Sahagún was placed in charge of a school in Tlatelolco, where he went to work teaching all aspects of Latin. Here the noble youth came to learn to read and write. The Indians lived at the college with the Franciscans, similar to the time before the arrival of the Spanish, where they went to train at the Calmecac about

their gods. Sahagún points out that those students that lived at the school were very able and were not sinful:

... en ninguna cosa han delinquido, no contra Dios, ni contra la Iglesia, ni contra el rey, ni contra su república; mas antes han ayudado y ayudan en muchas cosas a la plantación y sustentación de nuestra fe católica... (2, 253).

... in nothing have they been delinquent, not against God, nor against the Church, nor against the king, nor against his republic; [what's] more before they have helped and help in many things of the plantation and sustentation of our catholic faith (my translation).

Moreover, the students were very open to faith and dedicated to their lessons:

... porque si sermones, postillas, y doctrinas se han hecho en la lengua indiana que puedan parecer, y sean limpios de toda herejía, son los que con ellos se han compuesto; y ellos por ser peritos en la lengua latina, nos dan a entender las propiedades de los vocablos y las de su manera de hablar, y las incongruidades que hablamos en los sermones o escribimos en las doctrinas... (2,).

... because if sermons, short texts, and doctrines have been made in the Indian language that can seem, and that are clean of all heresy, they are those that they have composed; and they for being dogs in the Latin language, help us to understand the properties of the words and their way of speaking, and the incongruities that we speak in sermons or we write in doctrines....

Many other Spaniards and Franciscans rejected the need to teach the Indians Spanish because they could not be priests. Because of concerns raised by other clergy members and Spaniards, there was great resistance to teaching the Indians Latin. As a result, Sahagún compares the Indians to little dogs when attempting to speak in Latin. This implies there is no structure or complex trains of thought able to be communicated by the Indians in that language. Hence, those at the college learned the vocabulary and ways of speaking of the Indians in order to preach to them. Once this happened, Sahagún shows his belief that their conversions are sincere. This

sincerity is evidenced by the help the Indians provided to the friars in writing sermons and doctrine in their language.

Sahagún again reaffirms the need for greater comprehension of the indigenous cultures, which he does through learning their language. At the same time, he advocates for the teaching of Latin to the students so that they too can apprehend more about Castilian culture, and more specifically, that of the church and its foundations and doctrines. By not granting the students access to knowledge of Latin, the Indians are unable to share in the solidarity with their Christian brothers. They are negated the experience of humanity, whereas the Franciscans learned the Mexica language. This shows an openness and willingness by the Indians to share in such solidarity by welcoming the Franciscans, albeit into a non-Christian culture, in order to comprehend the message of Christ.

Nonetheless, many clerics feared that the Indians would use their knowledge to spread heresy. Not without some foundation, Sahagún reports that there is a definitive continuation of the worship of the Mexica gods, even though some had already converted:

De esta manera ellos cantan, se emborrachan y hacen sus fiestas cuando quieren y como quieren, y cantan los cantares antiguos que usaban en el tiempo de su idolatría, no todos sino muchos, y nadie entiende lo que dicen por ser sus cantares muy cerrados; y si algunos de éstos usan que ellos hayan hecho después de acá de su convertimiento, en que se trata de las cosas de Dios, y de sus santos, van envueltas con muchos desatinos y herejías, y aún los bailes areitos se hacen muchas de sus supersticiones antiguas y ritos idolátricos; especialmente donde no reside quien los entienda... y cada día se empeora, y no hay quien procure remediarlo porque no se entiende sino de pocos, y ellos no lo osan decir (2,249-250).

In this manner, they sing, they get drunk and have their parties when they want and how they want, and they sing the old songs that they

used in the time of their idolatry, not all but many, and no one understands what they say for being their songs very closes; and if some of these use what they have done here after their conversion, in which deals with the things of God, and of his saints, they become entangled with many blunders and heresies, and even the dances they do many of their old idolatrous superstitions; especially where resides no one that understands them... and every day it worsens, and there is no one that can procure to remedy it because it is not understood except by a few, and they do not dare to tell it.

Sahagún shows that the continuation of idolatrous practices does not necessarily imply a complete rejection of Christianity. Many sing songs and do dances as well as get drunk and have parties. But this is because those who could stop such behaviors do not understand what is being said or done. Hence, there is a lack of ability to communicate, be it in Castilian, Latin, or Nahua, which has impeded the process of conversion. Even when those who have converted use their beliefs about God in songs and poems, they make errors in doctrine, thereby creating heresies. As a result of the lack of solidarity between the Indians and the Castilians, the present condition of society was getting worse. In order to cure social illness, comprehension through language had to occur. Yet, because many Castilians did not approve of the teaching of Latin to the Indians nor chose to learn Nahua, disease persisted among them.

At the same time that this lack of solidarity was sickening society, so too were new Castilian traditions. In the past, before the arrival of the Spanish, the people lived in very structured and disciplined ways. Sahagún describes the teaching of girls and boys at the temples how to live in a law-abiding community, worship, and obey elders:

... para el regimiento de la república como para el servicio de los dioses es la causa porque tenían el negocio de su regimiento conforme a la necesidad de la gente, y por esto, los muchachos y muchachas, criábanlos con gran rigor hasta que eran adultos, y esto no en casa de

sus padres porque no eran poderosos para criarlos como convenía cada uno en su casa, sino que por esto los criaban de comunidad, debajo de maestros muy solícitos y rigurosos, los hombres a su parte, y las mujeres a la suya. Allí los enseñaban cómo debían honrar a sus dioses, y cómo había de acatar y obedecer a la república y a los regidores de ella; tenían bravos castigos... poníanlos muchos ejercicios de noche y de día, y criábanlos en grande austeridad; de manera que los vicios e inclinaciones carnales, no tenían señorío... los que vivían en los templos tenían tantos trabajos de noche y de día, y eran tan abstinentes que no se les acordaba de las cosas sensuales... (2,242).

For the governing of the republic as for the service of the gods, is the reason why they had the business of the regimen conformed to the necessity of the people, and for this they boys and the girls, they raised with great rigor until they were adults, and this not in the house of their parents because they were not powerful [enough] to raise them how it was best for each one in their house, rather that because of this they raised them in community, under very attentive and rigorous teachers, the men to their part, and the women to theirs. There they taught them how they should honor their gods, and how they should comply and obey the republic and the leaders of it; they had grave punishments... they gave them many exercises in night and in day, and they raised them in great austerity; so that vices and carnal inclinations, did not have power... Those that lived in the temples had so many jobs at night and at day, and they were so abstinent that they did not remember sensual things.

Here Sahagún explains how the great rigor with which the children were taught helped to maintain a healthy republic. Exercises, lessons, and punishments were all given to discipline the boys and girls. These children left their homes to be taught under teachers at temples. In doing so, they were not given time or space to engage in sinful behaviors. For this reason, Sahagún seems to admire the way in which the people are disciplined and live in austere conditions in order to combat vices caused by the land they lived in. With the arrival of the Spanish, all of these customs were toppled.

Sahagún praises the disciplined way that the Mexica lived in the past in spite of their non-Christian beliefs. Then with the settlement of the Castilians, there were new forms of governance and customs imposed upon the Mexica. Such practices are represented as more harmful to the Indians than the previous non-Christian state in which they lived. For example, when the Franciscans first came to the New World, the friars continued the method of having the youth come to live at the school to study. There they preached and taught them self flagellation, and the children learned Christian doctrine. However, the young Indians began to behave sinfully, which Sahagún attributes to lack of exercise and eating of new foods:

... no se ejercitaban en los trabajos corporales como solían, y como demanda la condición de su briosa sensualidad, también comían mejor de lo que acostumbraban en su república antigua... comenzaron a tener bríos sensuales, y a entender en cosa de lascivia, y así los echamos de nuestras casas para que se fuesen a dormir en las casas de sus padres (2, 246).

...they did not exercise in the corporal works like the did normally, and as demands the condition of their energetic sensuality, also they ate better than what they were accustomed in their old republic... they began to have sensual spirits, and to understand things of lasciviousness, and thus we threw them out of our houses so that they would go to sleep at the houses of their parents...

The youth were previously able to live virtuously by completing a strenuous regimen of exercises and eating specific foods to balance their bodies. Again, Sahagún uses the relationship between the body and climate to explain the condition of the soul. Thus, even though the Indians had yet to hear the Word of God, they were living virtuously. This virtuous living was done by following the knowledge of the ancients.

Because of the desire to convert the Indians to Catholicism, their cultural practices along with their idols were destroyed. In place of Mexica traditions based on knowledge of the terrain, new customs and faith were imposed and yet created greater damage than before the Castilians had arrived. Sahagún shows how these new cultural norms that accompany the Indians' conversions and indoctrination harm the Mexica people. The Franciscan blames new laws, social practices, and laziness overtime on the part of the clergy and the municipalities for the emergence of sin and disease:

Fué tan grande el temor que toda la gente popular cobró de estos muchachos que con nosotros se criaban, que después de pocos días, no era menester ir con ellos... prendían y ataban a todos los de la fiesta o borrachera... y los traían al monasterio para hacer penitencia, y de esta manera se destruyeron las cosas de la idolatría, o de la borrachera o fiesta.... Después acá cesó aquella solicitud que los religiosos tenían en las cosas ya dichas: porque públicamente no parecía cosa ninguna que fuese de castigo, y ellos perdieron el temor que a los principios tenían, porque también los que se criban en casa, dejaron dormir y comer dentro de ella, y ahora lo hacen en casa de sus padres; y aunque ven y saben algunas cosas idolátricas o de borrachera, no las osan decir. También se ha prohibido a los religiosos que a ninguno encierren ni castiguen en sus casas por ningún delito (2,249).

It was so great the terror that all the popular people had of these boys that were raised with us, that after a few days, it was not necessary to go with them... they captured and tied up all from the festivities or drinking... and they brought them to the monastery to do penitence, and in this way the things of idolatry, drunkenness, and party were destroyed. After her ceased that request that the religious men had in the things already said: because publically nothing seemed that it were punishable, and they lost their fear that at the beginning they had, because also those that were raised with us in house, they let sleep and eat inside of it, and now they do it in the houses of their parents; and even though they see and know some things of idolatry or drunkenness, they do not dare say it. Also it has been prohibited of the religious men, that to no one can they lock up or punish in their houses for any crime.

When the Franciscans first arrived, this order and discipline are maintained at the same time that the friars sought to extirpate the idols. People carrying out parties or being drunk were brought to the monastery. It seemed as if idolatry had ceased to exist. Yet, as soon as the clergy became lax in their treatment of those who sinned, Sahagún writes that the Indians no longer feared punishment and returned to worshipping idols, drinking, and having parties. Before the Castilians had come, drunkenness and parties would not have been permitted to those that studied and lived at the Mexica temples. These practices surge among the presence of the Spanish, which are accompanied by lack of discipline and new foods. Thus, while idolatry existed, it was not synonymous with sinful cultural practices. The Castilians were Christians, and yet they allowed for such a state to occur by not following their own code of conduct. As a result of their social norms, or lack thereof, being forced upon the Indians, colonial society was diseased.

The illness of colonial society was caused by not only the imposition of new customs but also by the fact that even the Castilians were Christian, they did not behave as such. For example, when Cortés conquers Tenochtitlan, Sahagún describes solely the cruelty towards the Indians and their deaths as violent and very detailed. Moreover, within the narrative of the twelfth book, Sahagún does not attribute Cortés's victory to God. Curiously, in the prologue, though, the Franciscan does state that this victory was due to Cortés's service to Christ. However, this completely contradicts all of the rest of Sahagún's books in the *Historia* and the initial introduction to this vast work. In the introduction, as already discussed, Sahagún represents the coming of the Spanish as a destructive force or a prophecy of a plague

fulfilled as they befell the land, but not a Christian triumph. Even in the text of the twelfth book, there is no portrayal or mention of Cortés' conquest as Christ-like. For example, when the Castilians killed many during the festival of Huitzilopochtli, instead of describing a triumph of Christ over pagan gods, Sahagún details only the brutality of the massacre:

Los españoles al tiempo que les pareció conveniente salieron de donde estaban, y tomaron todas las puertas del patio para que no saliese nadie, y otros entraron con sus armas y comenzaron a matar a los que estaban en el areito, y a los que tañían les cortaban las manos y las cabezas, y daban de estocadas y de lanzadas a todos cuantos topaban, y hicieron una matanza muy grande, y los que acudían a las puertas huyendo de allí, los mataban; algunos saltaban por las paredes, algunos se metían en las capillas de los Cúes, allí se echaban y se fingían muertos, corría la sangre por el patio como el agua cuando llueve, y todo el patio estaba sembrado de cabezas y brazos, y tripas y cuerpos de hombres muertos; por todos los rincones buscaban los españoles a los que estaban vivos para matarlos. Como salió la fama de este hecho por la ciudad, comenzaron a dar voces diciendo “!A la arma! ¡A la arma!” Y luego a estas voces se juntó gran copia de gente, todos con sus armas, y comenzaron a pelear contra los españoles (3,47).

The Spanish at the moment that seemed to them convenient left where they were, and they took all of the doors of the patio so that no one would go out, and others entered with their arms and began to kill those who were in the ceremony, and those that screamed they cut off their hands and heads, and they gave thrusts and wounds to all however many they came upon, and they did a very great massacre; and those who arrived at the doors fleeing from there, they killed; some jumped over the walls, some hid in the chapels of the *Cues*, and there they threw themselves down and played dead, blood ran through the patio like water when it rains, and all the patio was seeded with heads and arms, and intestines and bodies of dead men; in all corners the Spanish searched for those that lived in order to kill them. As the fame of this deed spread through the city, they began crying out saying ‘To arms! To arms!’ And later to these cries gathered a great number of people, all with their arms, and they began to fight against the Spanish.

Indeed the Castilians are victorious, but their violent massacre overcomes the belief in Christ, which is shown by the cruelty that they inflict upon the Indians. Here the

Spanish are portrayed as bringers of death rather than healers. The disunity and disease that the Castilians cause is emphasized by the numerous amounts of body parts and blood that lay on the floor. Rather than healthy bodies, the Castilians have torn them to pieces. In the same way, their actions tear apart the community causing more destruction. As a result of the massacre, peace is rejected in favor of violence, and the Indians take up arms to fight. There is no healthy Christian body but rather fragmentation of peoples into factions. This reinforces the notion of disorder that the Castilian presence causes.

In Montalvo's and Cabeza de Vaca's texts, victory over non-Christian enemies is attributed to service to God and crown. Just war could be waged in specific cases, such as defending oneself, punishing those who attacked, protecting the innocent, or rejecting Christian missionaries into a kingdom. However, this attack is not grounded in any such notion, nor does Cortés dedicate himself to or offer thanks to God. Again, Sahagún does not equate Castilian norms with Christian beliefs and actions. In Montalvo's and Cabeza de Vaca's narratives also, those who did not serve God and sought only personal glory through conquest and battle were doomed to defeat. Indirectly, then what would happen to the Spanish? Sahagún instead portrays the disorder of Castilian rule, which is not based upon chivalric values. Rather it is grounded in the use of force for personal gain. For this reason, the Castilians cause disease. In Montalvo's *Esplandián* and Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, Christ was the example of a just ruler and armies dedicated to him were always guaranteed victories. In this way, while attributing Cortés's actions to God's favor in the prologue, there is a contradiction with the text of the twelfth book that

better corresponds with the eleven others. The author does not openly question the actions of the Castilians or their right to rule. Yet, the friar does utilize a chivalric code of conduct as a model in the prologue of the twelfth book. In this way, Sahagún casts doubt on the future of the diseased colonial society in the New World.

On many occasions Sahagún laments that this illness, which is both physical and spiritual, that it is almost impossible to cure. However, the Franciscan does suggest a remedy to the king in order to heal colonial society. This is based on the use of education to establish solidarity between the Castilians and the Indians through Christianity and the use of medicine:

Si el señor D. Antonio de Mendoza que gloria sea, virrey que fue de esta Nueva España, no los hubiera proveído de su hacienda, y de un poco de rentilla que tienen con que se sustentan pocos y mal, yo no hubiera memoria de Colegio ni del colegial, y pudiérase haber hecho gran bien a toda esta república indiana, y el rey nuestro señor, tuviera más vasallos en ella... van en disminución; y la causa que yo he visto con mis ojos es, que en la pestilencia de ahora ha treinta años, por no haber quien supiese sangrar ni administrar las medicinas como conviene, murieron los más de ellos y de hambre. En esta pestilencia presente acontece lo mismo... si se hubiera tenido atención y advertencia, a que estos indios hubieran sido instruídos en la Gramática, Lógica, Filosofía Natural y Medicina, pudieran haber socorrido a muchos de los que han muerto... y como los médicos y sangradores españoles que lo saben hacer son pocos, y a pocos socorren, y ya casi están cansados, enfermos y muertos los sangradores y médicos, y no hay ya quien pueda ni quiera acudir ni ayudar a los indios pobres, y así mueren por no tener remedio ni socorro (2,254-255).

If noble Sir Antonio de Mendoza who is glory, viceroy that was of this New Spain, would not have given them of his hacienda, the little income that they have with which they sustain themselves a little and poorly, there would no longer be memory of the School nor the schoolchildren, [there] could have been done a great goodness to all this Indian republic, and king our master, would have more soldiers in it... they always go in decrease; and the cause that I have seen with my eyes is, that the illness of now has [lasted] thirty years, for not having anyone who knows how to bleed or administer medicine as it should

be, they died the majority of them of hunger. In this present pestilence occurs the same... if there they would have paid attention and heeded warning, so that the Indians would have been instructed in Grammar, Logic, Natural Philosophy and Medicine, they could have been rescued the many that have died... and as the Spanish doctors and barbers that know how to do it are few, and few they rescue, and are almost tired, sick and dead the barbers and doctors, and now there is no one who can or that wants to come to the aid of the poor Indians, and thus they die for not having remedy or rescue.

The social disorder that came with the Spanish was accompanied by pestilence. The school in which young Indian men could be educated in Christian beliefs and friars could learn their customs was now barely sustainable. In other words, there no longer existed a fortified mechanism by which to stop such disease and to teach how to combat actual illness. Sahagún recommends to the King that more soldiers be sent to help in protecting the Indians, but those there along with the Indians, always were decreasing in number. Sahagún's remedy for avoiding pestilence is education of the Indians in subjects such as logic, grammar, and natural philosophy along with methods for treating sicknesses while learning theirs as well. At the school, not only would the Indians receive secular instruction but also indoctrination.

Hence language again becomes a method by which to establish unity between the Castilians and Indians as well as a basis for education in order to save bodies and souls. Nevertheless, because this has not been done, physical and moral sickness persisted. One can again compare Sahagún's discourse on language with the notion of *Christus Medicus*, as it is both an actual medicine for rescuing the Indians at the same time as leaving teachings for all to do so in the future. Although, this form of medicine had yet to be enacted. In this way, the Castilians do not carry out service to God and crown, and Sahagún does not hesitate to say that all will perish as a result.

Sahagún does utilize a chivalric trope, like Montalvo and Cabeza de Vaca, in order to inspire action in the name of God and Spain. However, he does not provide characters, who act on situations in which just war can be made or the effectiveness of evangelization through peaceful means are questioned. Settlement has occurred and colonial society built. By providing a *Historia* of the Mexica people, he does not take issue with the conquest of New Spain or the capacity of the Indians to receive faith. Instead Sahagún attributes value to the Indians' culture and explains the necessity of obtaining knowledge about them through mutual exchange; the Indians must be taught Latin as well as doctrine and medicine, while the clergy must learn Mexica language and customs to better be able to convert Indians peacefully and sincerely. It can be argued that because the Indians continued with their idolatrous practices even when the Castilians arrived, that God inflicted a pestilence upon them. Yet the Franciscan points out repeatedly the need to establish solidarity in order to eliminate sin. Rather than establish fault, the future of colonial society is indirectly questioned by describing in detail the present disorder and sickness.

Adorno has written that the suppression of Sahagún's works may have occurred due to the description of sacrifice and other sinful practices. Thus this would place the souls of European readers in peril. This would happen because they could be infected not by fiction but actual facts, as if the text were actually capable of passing on sin:

On the other hand, ethnographic histories wrote about Amerindian survival: the persistent presence of Amerindian societies and, explicitly, their taboo customs. ... unsanctioned sexual activity and rites and customs that gave themselves over to excesses often described as diabolical. Such reports would have been highly undesirable from the viewpoint of state and church, which considered

that the veneer of civilization in Europe was a very thin one. European readers had to be protected from these accounts which, unlike the 'fábulas y ficciones' of the novels of chivalry, told of things that were fantastic *and also true* (*Suppression*, 7-8).

Yet, it is also possible that Sahagún was censored not only because his text could contaminate the spiritual welfare of readers; rather because it represented a place in which Christianity was completely divorced from Castilian customs. The project of conquest in the name of Christ and crown had done more harm than good. Sahagún's narrative provided evidence of this. If his text was understood as a chivalric tale, then the project of settling the New World showed how much left there was to be done. Sahagún even advocated Indian customs be enacted, to the horror of staunch Catholics. At the same time, if action was not taken, then the reader was left to ask what would become of Castile due to its negligent sins.

Afterward

In this dissertation, I have explored the bridge between medical and narrative practices. I have also investigated how the permeability of these disciplines is negotiated in three different authors using three different genres. In each case, I compare the writing of history to a theater of anatomy. In such theaters, disease is constructed through a narrative operation, in which remnants of textual past are used to make histories. In this way, I compare the history-writer to a practitioner, who diagnoses disease as a set of behaviors or conditions unwanted by a society and that would lead them to become part of the past. In early modern Spain, non-Christian beliefs were likened to illness. As often such practices were carried out in distant places, a distempered body could be linked to a sinful soul. This connection between physical and spiritual illness was created through narrative often for the sake of establishing political legitimacy as we see in these three texts, but in three very distinct manners. In the trajectory of the three narratives, the ways in which a history-writer practitioner heals the illness of disbelief shift: from violence to enforce conversion and loyalty; to peaceful evangelization and pacification; and finally to the exchange of customs between the Indians and the Spanish. In each text, the authors search for mechanisms by which to lead their readers to true faith and loyalty to the crown.

In the first chapter, I explore the permeability between narrative and medical practices of the 16th century, by comparing medical and poetic/ history writing treatises. I use as a foundation the notion of human, based on *humanitas*, or solidarity with one's own kind as shown through language. I explore how Juan Huarte de San

Juan wrote about the diagnosing of one's intelligence through speech; speech being an indicator of one's aptitudes as well as a link to one's kind of people. In early modern Spain, the Word of God was the denominator. I rely on Michael Solomon's definition of disease from *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: the Archipreste de Talavera and the Spill*, in which disease is a social experience. As such an authorized practitioner from a particular society can diagnose any set of unwanted characteristics as illness. I use Solomon's definition in order to frame non-Christianity in early modern Spain as disease. I explore how disease is portrayed as having both a physical and a spiritual component as non-Christians were often linked to distant lands, such as the Far East or the Indies.

In the second chapter, we see medical theory in praxis. In *Las Sergas de Esplandián* by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, I show how medical discourse is used in this narrative to inspire conquest against non-Christians. I investigate how all characters are constructed physically, mentally, and spiritually according to the dispositions which Huarte elaborates upon in his treatise and ontological notions about peoples from similar latitudes. I examine three cases, in which the enemies of the faith are defeated in battle by Christian knights, contrary to medical theory and the giants' superior strength. Each battle occurs based upon legitimate criteria for making war upon non-Christians, thereby opening the door to a transatlantic reading of the text. Each enemy is offered the chance to convert or perish. I use the notion of *Christus medicus* to explain how sincere conversion results in physical and spiritual salvation for two of the three giants while one who falsely converts dies.

The novel is also a guide for future explorers, who will encounter enemies of the faith from Africa, the Far East, and the New World. I consider how each conquered enemy of the faith will be treated after their defeat, according to Christian and Aristotelian notions of civil and natural slavery, which will later be used in the debates for the rights of Indians. I demonstrate how Montalvo includes himself in the text, becoming like Esplandián a history-writer practitioner. I show how both use the Word of God to heal disease, one to his enemies in the text and the other to plead with his readers outside the text that they put such examples into practice.

In Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, we see the reappearance of the chivalric trope, to be used as a guide. However, Cabeza de Vaca's tale is of misfortune and how to avoid it rather than one of victory. Nonetheless, the same notion of steadfast faith guarantees spiritual and physical salvation to him, Dorantes, Del Castillo, and Estevanico, whereas Narváez and the rest of the Spanish on the expedition perish for their sins. I show how Cabeza de Vaca does not represent non-Christians Indians according to strict medical typologies. Instead, he notes their physiques and attributes as well as the distinct sets of customs of groups of Indians. I argue that unlike in *Esplandián*, fighting disease is not done through war but through the use of prayer and the actual practice of medicine in order to reinforce his example of conversion through peaceful means as both healing of the sick and salvation occur at the same time with a sincere conversion. I explore how Cabeza de Vaca, who is no longer a character within his text, uses personal experience to authorize his discourse in hopes of saving both the Indians and future settlers from the same fate as Narváez. He is a history-writer practitioner. I argue that Cabeza de Vaca puts to the test classical

medical theories, thereby reinforcing the idea that choice is linked to the ability to overcome one's sinful nature. Unlike Montalvo, this text stands more as a case study.

In the final chapter, I discuss how Bernardino de Sahagún appropriates as well as rejects medical theory in his *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* in order to diagnose and heal spiritual disease. Unlike Cabeza de Vaca and Montalvo, Sahagún does not shape his narrative in the form of a chivalric novel. I investigate how Sahagún represents colonial society as diseased and establishes this as his purpose for writing the text. Sahagún attributes disease to the imposition of new customs on the Indians and the lack of knowledge about the terrain of the Spanish. Thus, I illustrate how Sahagún frames the role of the preacher is as physical and spiritual doctor. Using the collection of information from indigenous elders, I analyze how the Franciscan friar portrays such knowledge as a medicinal tool to combat physical and spiritual vices; such as the persistence of idolatry among the Indians and the ability of the Spanish to learn how to maintain balance in their bodies. However, I argue that in the writing of Sahagún's history, the amassing of information in Spanish would not have eliminated the pagan gods' existence but rather been another way to invoke them. Thus, I show how there is the coexistence of many cultures within the text. I also show that Sahagún establishes an important separation between culture and religion even when both are present. I argue that through his separation between culture and religion, Sahagún advocates for an exchange in which the Indians' knowledge can be used to save the bodies of both the Indians and the Spanish whereas Christianity can save their souls.

In terms of my contribution to literary studies, I provide a solid connection between Medieval, Golden Age, and Colonial literatures. I have done this through an interdisciplinary approach, looking at the connection between narrative and medicine within the Spanish literary tradition. Much research has been done separately on the development of the science of cosmography, medical practices, and prominent forms of narrative representation in early modern Spain. However, I eliminate the gap between medical and narrative practices. I do this by comparing medical and poetic and history writing treatises. I then analyze the consequences of this connection present in the Spanish literary tradition on legitimizing conquest, pacification, and settlement. Following the history-writer practitioner through a series of texts, beginning with one traditionally read as a propaganda for unity under the Catholic Kings, and then Cabeza de Vaca's tale of misfortune as he wanders through the New World, and lastly Sahagún's historiographical narrative, I have shown how notions of spiritual and physical disease evolve with the passing of time, the expansion of the Spanish empire, and the changing of the crown's objectives in the New World.

I have examined, following this same course, how the writers have used different mechanisms to authorize their discourse about diagnosing and healing disease. We move from a history-writer practitioner that acts from within the text in *Esplandián*, to a history-writer practitioner that participates in the healing as an actual clinician in Cabeza de Vaca's tale, to one who is completely removed from the text and the bedside in Sahagún's *Historia*. At the same time, I show how notions of disease transform with the distance of the history-writer practitioner from the text; as an *exemplum*, disease is based solely upon theory, as a *relación*, disease is based on

testing theory with practical experience, and as an ethnographic text, disease is understood through the amassing of observation and gathering of data in order to analyze it.

I have also used the figure of the history-writer practitioner to create a historical trajectory between genres and demonstrate the way that each appropriates and differentiates itself from one another. For example, I start with the chivalric novel, and this chivalric trope is used again in Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, and Sahagún relies upon the specificity Cabeza de Vaca uses to describe the Indians he encounters. I have brought together the intricate relationship between medicine, political goals, and narrative. I demonstrate the parallel and dependent relationship on the developing studies of medicine and historiography. I do this by exposing the connection between the distance that grows between the history-writer practitioner and the text and the disproving of solely classical medical theory to diagnose disease through testing and gathering of information through legitimate sources. At the same time that historiography of the New World flourishes, so too do methodological scientific practices emerge in order to create notions of disease that are more uniformly established and widely accepted.

The figure of Don Quijote, like the writing of history, is dependent upon this textual operation. He reveals the curative and violent aspects of narrative operation by exposing the boundary between historical events and their representation. He also elucidates how manipulation of words can be used to impose social roles upon others and using force to uphold them. Don Quijote plays a role he has constructed that would permit him a freedom to act upon injustice as he saw it so. On the one hand,

he is a hero who tries to liberate the enslaved, and on the other, he is a villain who imposes his own narrative roles on others; an example of this is when a small boy is whipped mercilessly by his master because of Don Quijote's intervention. We see examples of this duality in Montalvo, Cabeza de Vaca, and Sahagún's texts.

Don Quijote is both a chivalric knight and a man sickened by an overdose of literature. He existed outside the constraints of the civic body and imperial hierarchy with the help of fiction. Because of this view, he is considered diseased because of his acceptance of plural realities. We see how diseased literature leads to the sickening of a man's mind and possibly his soul. Also, the notion of the word as a *pharmakon* that has both the power to heal and sicken is reaffirmed. For this reason, at the time of the *Quijote's* production, the church and state regularly suppressed texts that offered potential to contemplate the existence of other forms of being in time in space, such as Sahagún's *Historia*.

According to Huarte's theory, such disease consisted in overuse of the imaginative faculty, in which one would be able to "engendrar dentro de sí una figura," (43) "to engender in oneself a figure." Healing Don Quijote would consist in applying the contrary to him, or to bring him back to acknowledging his role within a specific Spanish hierarchy. Again, words are applied as if medicine and then enacted when Carrasco defeats Don Quijote in a duel reminiscent of a chivalric novel. At the same time, healing also took away his capacity to recognize plural experiences of time and space. And yet Don Quijote's use of his imaginative faculty shows his own will to act. When subdued, he becomes enslaved to a social role, and thus heroic figure of the knight can exist no more. The imaginative faculty then, is the knight's

defense against the eliminating of the plurality of voices necessary for negotiating the experience of being. The power of the history-writer practitioner is handed over to his reader, who is charged with questioning what he has read.

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